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Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-96-127 *1 July 1996*

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Albania: European Parliament Official on Elections

AU3006151396 Tirana ATA in English 1401 GMT 29 Jun 96

["Doris Pack, Europarliamentarian and Chairwoman of European Parliament Commission for Southeastern Europe, Said on June 20 in Strasbourg:"—ATA headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, June 29 (ATA)—Initially, all the parties took part in the elections in Albania. Opposition parties, according to them didn't have insurmountable obstacles to participate in the elections.

2. [no No. 1 as received] Opposition parties under leadership of the socialists, ex-communists withdrew from the elections two hours before closing of the vote, but according to the surveys conducted by the American Institute on the elections, were not in favour of a socialists victory. Their candidates and observers withdrew from the elections.

3. In the long run, such a thing led to irregularities in some constituencies.

4. The independent Central Electoral Commission noticed irregularities in 17 constituencies and decided a rerun of elections on last Sunday [16 June].

5. The opposition refused to participate in the elections.

6. The opposition call to boycott the elections, led to a 18 per cent drop of the turnout in 17 constituencies. The opposition couldn't expect a better turnout.

7. The second round of the elections proved the outcome of the previous one, where the Democratic Party won the bulk of the suffrages.

8. Foreign observers present on the elections had different opinions. Based on a report of the ODIHR [Office of Democratic Institution for Human Rights] group, whose content raised many question (I have noticed only 14 young pure socialists, Marxists-Leninists, who have partly visited Albania as friends of (late dictator) Hoxha. [sentence as received] Initially, they were invited by the socialists and later were recruited by the ODIHR (as OSCE's observers). This brought about that the majority of the conclusions presented yesterday on a letter of all the EU and U.S. ambassadors to their governments had harsh tones in it.

9. The resolution's request after the last round of elections are unimaginable.

10. Albanians choice was based on their believes and not on the left wing desires, in this room. Better this way!

11. Regarding the resolution's request to set free the political prisoners, I am convinced that I do not know political prisoners, but a prominent left, who is in jail on embezzlement charges. So this is a judicial problem

12. I expect from the Albanian Government, that through its majority work carefully and make the opposition participate in country's government. I hope for a constructive approach from the opposition, because it regards its compatriots and their common country, Albania.

13. It took the country a five year duration to jump from the medieval time to the new epoch, for example from the strong communist isolation to democracy. This is difficult, and mistakes will occur. We should not be so strict and partial in our judgments. Even us, should reach democratic standards through difficulties.

Albania: Opposition Holds Rally, Demands New Elections

AU2906212196 Tirana ATA in English 1118 GMT 29 Jun 96

[Report by R. Falloqi]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, June 28 (ATA)—Leaders of Albanian opposition who have just returned from Strasbourg where the CE [Council of Europe] approved a resolution on Albanian elections organised Friday evening, a rally in the sports ground "Ali Demi" in Tirana where they voiced once more their request for new elections and refusal to enter new Parliament despite CE resolution which asked them for such a thing.

Pellumbi, the Socialist Party [PS] deputy chairman, said "The nominated Socialist deputies cannot enter the parliament because they are nominated by Berisha, as their political subject (PS) had withdrawn its candidates five hours before the vote closed so they could not be declared elected."

Pellumbi said such a thing because some of the ten socialist deputies elected have declared they will enter the new parliament.

The Socialist Deputy Sali Rexhepi elected in a constituency including the Librazhd and Pogradec district said that "he was ready to accept his deputy mandate won as a socialist candidate."

According to analysts, the opposition is making use of such a new tactic to show the new parliament illegitimacy by not participating in it and giving a legislative value to the round table of parties which should include even other inexistent parties such as the Agrarian Party, beside Social Democratic Party [PSD] and Democratic Alliance Party [AD].

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According to Pellumbi "if parliament remains monist not a pluralist one the round table of the parties takes a special importance in the country's political life."

"We are for a dialogue," he said speaking to a group of old nostalgists "because we should be responsible for the democratic processes. We should seek for resolutions in the round table of parties."

The Eurosocialist organisers in the mean time tried hard to stop the PS nostalgic members from singing the line "O youth, get arms to fight for freedom or death" of an old patriotic song.

"Without free elections monitored by foreign institutions is impossible to come out of the crisis and it is this where the round table should start," Pellumbi said in the meeting organised to echo some decisions of the CE, OSCE, and EU.

The banners they had said nothing about the CE decisions not to call new elections.

Pellumbi asked that the political forces should not be valuated by the percentage of May 26 elections but by the "real influence they exert on the Albanian electorate."

Skender Gjinushi, the PSD leader, said that "New elections are necessary to return faith in democracy." He added "Albania's sovereignty was crushed by the actual political power, while Europe and European Parliament by respecting our sovereignty declares new elections to be held."

Prec Zogaj, the AD Presidency member, the only representative of this party, called for manifestations by saying "parliament should convene in all squares of Albania." "Do not let us down, so that we do not let you down," Zogaj said to the PS sympathisers present in the meeting who held banners in Albanian and English which did not imply dialogue and said "Down With Berisha," "Berisha Leave," etc.

The rally about an hour long and attended by the police ended without excesses. Police had often offered this sports ground to the PS for activities but it had consistently asked for "Skenderbeg" square.

Albania: Left-Wing Opposition Leaders Address Tirana Rally

AU2906211696 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 29 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The left-wing opposition parties last night organized a rally on the occasion of their return from Strasbourg. Alfons Zeneli has the report:

[Zeneli] Members and sympathizers of Albanian left-wing opposition parties gathered at the Ali Demi sports field to listen to their leaders Servet Pellumbi [Socialist Party deputy chairman], Skender Gjinushi [Social Democratic Party chairman], Prec Zogaj [Democratic Alliance], and Lufter Xhuveli [Agrarian Party Chairman].

Musa Ulqini, chairman of the Socialist Party [PS] for Tirana, opened the rally and gave the floor to PS Deputy Chairman Servet Pellumbi. The latter conveyed to the people the messages of democracy and dialogue from Strasbourg. We Albanians should defend democracy and emerge from the crisis, Pellumbi said, adding that international monitoring is a necessary condition for this. Pellumbi categorically ruled out the possibility of Socialist deputies participating in parliament, deputies who are appointed by Berisha, as he called them. Pellumbi further stressed that the message of Europe is the message of the real democracy which, according to him, the opposition should have as its motto.

Europe is with us, with the real democracy. Europe follows its own principles, Social Democrat Skender Gjinushi said at the beginning of his speech. Europe does not give orders but recommendations as it knows that the people who know how to defend themselves live in Albania. That is why we listen to Europe. [crowd shouts: "We want new elections"]

Democratic Alliance representative Prec Zogaj took the floor and conveyed his own messages through a retrospective. In December, Zogaj declared, we did not know whether we were leftists, rightists, or centrists. At that time, we fought for free elections. During difficult moments in history, he analyzed, the Albanian people have been guided by others. Today the time has come to show how we defend the free vote, as we are the only people whose votes were stolen. Today the parliament of the people should be opened in all squares in Albania, Zogaj said. [crowd shouts: "Down with dictatorship"]

I know life has become very difficult and that the survival instinct is the strongest. Buy I would ask you not to forget that we have won and should not depart from victory. Zogaj also told the participants: Do not leave us alone so we will not leave you alone. The voice of the people is God's voice, Zogaj concluded.

Lufter Xhuveli of the Agrarian Party assured the participants that his party supports the protest and that he considers both the elections and the parliament as illegal.

It should be noted that the leaders of the four opposition parties at this rally boycotted the European recommendation to participate in the parliament. Those present expressed their support by shouting that Europe is with us, we ourselves make up Parliament, and sang the song

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"Men Take up Arms—Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death."

Musa Ulqini declared the meeting over.

Albania: Democratic Party Asks Meksi To Continue as PM

AU3006164696 Paris AFP in English 1626 GMT 30 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, June 30 (AFP)—Albania's ruling Democratic Party on Sunday asked outgoing prime minister Alexander Meksi to resume the office he has occupied for four years. Meksi, 57, had resigned Friday as a new parliament met for the first time following legislative elections in late May and early June.

President Sali Berisha said Meksi's government had made "a significant contribution to the political and economic stability of Albania during a difficult period of transition."

The Democratic Party voted for Tritan Shehu, its president, to become deputy prime minister, while Pjeter Arbnori would continue in his current post as parliamentary speaker.

The party occupies 122 of the 140 seats in parliament following the elections which opposition parties dismissed as fraudulent.

Albania: Berisha, Party Leaders Discuss Cabinet, Priorities

AU3006172996 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 29 Jun 96

[Report by Leka Ndoja]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Sali Berisha held a consultative meeting with leaders of the parties participating in the newly elected People's Assembly, which will begin its work on Monday. The participants discussed the main directions and the composition of the new government, problems with privatization, strengthening public order, economic growth, the national question, and other issues.

At these closed-door meetings, President Berisha listened to the opinions of the representatives of parliamentary parties regarding the appointment of new ministers and special requets from the Democratic Party [PD], Human Rights Union, the Republican Party, and the National Front Party.

After the consultations, President Berisha and the invitees offered their own explanations:

[Begin recording] [Berisha] I called the parliamentary parties to a meeting today, and I want to thank the participants for their valuable ideas about the composition of the future government. I can say that, in general, the problems we are most concerned about were discussed at the meeting. We discussed very important ideas for setting up the future government and enabling it to better respond to the demands of the country's development.

The parliamentary party representatives agreed that privatization and the pace of that process are very important issues, along with education, public order, the fight against corruption, emigration problems, the state control service, and the transformation of the state control service into a court of accounts. Their opinions were useful, and I will try to encourage the new parliament and the government to see that the structure of the new government, the portfolios, comply with the valuable ideas presented by the parliamentary parties.

[Ndoja] Were any opinions expressed regarding the head of the new government?

[Berisha] I received separate opinions from each party. According to constitutional provisions, I have to appoint the prime minister. I want to assure them that in appointing the new prime minister, I will consider their suggestions. Of course, the appointment of the prime minister is put to a secret vote by the National Council and the PD parliamentary group. I will, however, consider the suggestions of the parties and every proposal they submit to the National Council.

[Ndoja] Do you think the absence of the opposition has impaired this consultative meeting? How do you view the refusal of your invitation?

[Berisha] I do not think boycotting institutions is fruitful. I think it is necessary to establish a dialogue to resolve problems. The leftist opposition, just like many of the opposition parties present today, will always have its place in the dialogue. We will always remain open to dialogue.

I would also like to avail myself of this opportunity to invite the leftist opposition to participate in the parliament, to take their seats in the parliament, guaranteeing them that their voice, suggestions, opinions, and initiatives will be respected and considered. I would like to reiterate that the boycott is a nonproductive means of self-denial.

[Republican Party Chairman Sabri Godo] I hope it was a useful talk. We presented our main concerns for the future government's consideration, such as strengthening reform and privatization, emphasizing our concern that privatization and reform in general should be based on the judicial private property. There are also

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other significant problems that should be given priority in the governmental program, such as establishing strong public order and a more effective fight against corruption. For my part, I suggested that the state create a special body to deal with the great national problem of emigration.

[National Unity Party Secretary General Aleko Gjergo] As representative of a nationalist party, I suggested to the president that the future government should have the national issue at the center of attention. We discussed several principles that the future government should take into consideration. Within that context, we supported the previous government's program on privatization, but stressed that privatization should better consider the demands of former owners and former persecutees, as well as the employees that have created this property. Third, we demanded strong public order, which is the guarantee of democracy.

[Human Rights Union Chairman Vasil Melo] The aim of the meeting was to present ideas on the structure of the new government, not on appointments or posts or other things, or as a means to cooperate, but simply opinions about our concept of the structure of the new government. Of course, each of us presented his own analysis of the previous four-year term with an eye to improving the entire government structure.

[PD Chairman Tritan Shehu] First, I would like to thank the president of the Republic for taking this initiative right after the Council of Europe resolution, which called for a dialogue among the Albanian political parties. This initiative was implemented in a constructive meeting with the leaders of the main Albanian parliamentary parties, during which they discussed problems with organizing the Albanian state for the next four-year term to face increasing demands and improving the economic, social, and political level, as well as addressing Albania's integration. For me, this was a very positive and very productive meeting. [Ndoja] How would you respond to the absence of the opposition at the consultative meeting on the structure of the new government?

[Shehu] First, I would like to say that this meeting demonstrated precisely that point. It presented two different stances: a fair democratic stance, open to dialogue to reach common conclusions for the country's benefit, and a taciturn attitude of the Red Front, that of the boycott, by those who, as its seems, have decided to prolong the boycott. I think it is an incorrect stance on their part. I think they had better listen to the advice of the European community and the European Union to hold a dialogue, not to the advice of those who took the boycott road on 26 May, something which would undoubtedly seriously damage the opposition. This seems to me an irresponsible attitude toward the destiny of Albanian developments and the country's interests, but also irresponsible toward their own interests as a political force.

[Ndoja] What would you say about the restructuring of the government. What ideas were put forward, and what exactly did you suggest?

[Shehu] I noticed there was a common denominator on the main points regarding our demands for restructuring of the government and developments over the next four years. Most importantly, our ideas converged on the necessity of strengthening and accelerating the privatization process, on expanding the free market economy in Albania, on strengthening the educational system as one of the important points for Albania's future, on strengthening the social state in its contemporary viewpoint, on strengthening the de jure state, public order, the defense of judiciary, and other important points related to the country's development over the next four years.

[Ndoja] Did you express any opinion about the post of the new government head?

[Shehu] These are confidential opinions, which undoubtedly are given to the president confidentially, as he himself requested.

[Ndoja] Thank you.

[Shehu] Thank you, too.

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Bulgaria: Parliament Speaker on Relations With Turkey

NC2806103396 Ankara TURKISH DAILY NEWS in English 25 Jun 96 pp A4-A5

["Full text" of an interview with Blagovest Sendov, speaker of the Bulgarian Parliament, by Semih D. Idiz in Ankara "last week"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] TDN [Turkish Daily News]: The last elections in Bulgaria returned the socialists to power. Some say BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] members are merely "wolves in sheep's clothing." In other words crypto-Communists who will try and turn the clock back. Given their approach to some issues, most notably the issue of joining NATO—for which they have already been reproached by President Zhelyu Zhelev—how do you assess this victory of theirs at the polls, and can they in fact turn the clock back in any way?

SENDOV: The Bulgarian Socialist Party is a democratic left party, which has parted definitely with its totalitarian past and has established itself as the initiator and the major driving force of the democratic reforms in Bulgaria after 1989. Its platform, its ideology and its practices, both in Parliament and in local government fully comply with the European values of pluralistic democracy, supremacy of law, and respect for human rights and freedoms. There are people in Bulgaria, naturally, who do feel nostalgic about the past. But it is not those people who determine the policy of the Bulgarian Socialist Party. They find expression elsewhere—in several "Communist" parties, which are not represented in Parliament and which oppose the BSP. The BSP has no common ground with those political groupings.

On NATO, it would be wrong to present the attitude of the Bulgarian Government to this alliance as hostile and prejudiced by the past. To do this would be a distortion of the facts, practices sometimes for internal and foreign policy reasons by the Bulgarian opposition and, regrettably, President Zhelev as well. The Bulgarian Government, consistent with the decisions of the National Assembly, is already pursuing a policy of integration with European and Euro-Atlantic structures, the North Atlantic alliance being one of them.

Bulgaria is an associate member of the European Union. It actively participates in the North Atlantic Cooperation Council and NATO's Partnership for Peace. Following the lines of association with NATO, the Bulgarian Government is now involved in active dialogue with it, with the aim of elucidating all issues related to participation. In this policy of cooperation and association with NATO, we hope for the support of Turkey, a NATO member. To sum up, the democratic course in Bulgaria has taken in its home and foreign policy is irreversible. There is no way back.

TDN: While a speedy rapprochement characterized the relations of the central government in Sofia and the Turkish minority in your country after the collapse of the former regime, things have not been going so well, we are told, after the Socialists came back to prominence. As you know Turkey is also a country with a problem today relating to a large ethnic minority, namely the Kurds. How do you assess the position of the Turks of Bulgaria today in particular, and the minorities issue in the Balkans in general? Do you see any signs in Bulgaria of a reversion to the practices of the "Zhivkov day's" with regard to the Turkish minority.

SENDOV: Bulgaria consistently follows European standards of respect for persons belonging to minority groups. This includes the Bulgarian citizens of Turkish ethnic origin. The democratic human rights and freedoms stipulated in our Constitution apply to all Bulgarian citizens, regardless of ethnic origin, religion or political affiliation. No deterioration could be discerned in the position of the Bulgarian Turks after the Democratic Left came to power following the 1995 elections. It should also be noted that it was the Socialists who stood for the restoration of the rights of the Bulgarian Turks, which were indeed encroached upon toward the end of the former regime. But now Bulgaria is following a model that has already been recognized internationally. Lots of countries could learn from this model.

TDN: While Bosnia produced many lessons for the West in particular, highlighting its weaknesses or preferences as it did, the most important lessons were no doubt for the Balkans. What we saw was that given the ethnic and religious faultlines in this peninsula all pretensions to being civilized can be cast aside to make room for truly primitive and atavistic behavior. Do you think this is the fate off this part of the world, or will cross-cultural and cross-religious enlightenment arrive finally?

SENDOV: The developments in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in other places in former Yugoslavia, did indeed compromise the Balkans. Mankind could never accept ethnic cleansing and similar practices—they are primitive, antisocial and, quite justifiably, regarded as international crime. I would like to believe that the Dayton agreements reached through the joint efforts of the international community and applied with Bulgaria's and Turkey's active cooperation, will pave the way for the democratic development of all the countries of former

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Yugoslavia, with full respect for the rights of all ethnic, religious and cultural minority groups.

In our aspirations for a better future for the Balkans, however, we should not rely on foreign support—we, the Balkan nations, should also strive to make this happen. That's exactly the point of reinstating the all-Balkan dialogue in the framework of the Balkan multilateral cooperation. And we are happy to see Bulgaria and Turkey together, side by side, supporting this process, an important expression of it being the upcoming meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs for the Balkan countries.

TDN: What are your thoughts about Turkish-Bulgarian relations today. Do you believe that these are still in the "sensitive mode" or are they progressing well as officials on both sides would like us to believe?

SENDOV: Relations between Bulgaria and Turkey are not a matter of emotion or sentiment. They are based on national interests, of which both countries are fully conscious. That is why our relations are now in a process of continual improvement, after leaving behind, thought joint efforts, the unpleasantness of the near past. It is hardly necessary to recall all the facts in evidence for this improvement; the effective legal basis that has been reached, the numerous bilateral meetings on all levels, the increased cooperation in every sphere, political, parliamentary, military, economic, commercial, cultural etc. If something is to be regretted, it is the fact that full advantage has not yet been taken of all opportunities that exist for cooperation, especially in economy and trade. We now have available all necessary preconditions for solving, in a spirit of mutual understanding and confidence, the unsettled issues that quite naturally exist between neighbors. As for the future of Bulgarian-Turkish relations, we are strongly optimistic, and very encouraged by the talks with our Turkish colleagues and by the warm, friendly welcome that we have been given in Turkey.

TDN: Finally, seeing as it effects our two countries very closely, what are your thoughts about the results of Sunday's elections in Russia?

SENDOV: The results of the first round of the parliamentary elections in Russia were predictable, in the sense that a second round was expected. I wouldn't venture any forecasts for the outcome of the runoff vote. One thing, however is certain—I am deeply convinced that for Russia there is no going back.

Bulgaria: Parliament Elects National Bank Governor

AU2806100296 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 28 Jun 96

[Report by Vanya Manolova from the National Assembly in Sofia—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] The National Assembly has just completed voting on the candidates for the posts of governor and deputy governors of the Bulgarian National Bank. The results are as follows:

Lyubomir Filipov was elected as governor by 125 votes for, three against, and three abstentions. Evgeni Uzunov was elected as one of the deputy governors, with 121 votes for, four against, and three abstentions, while Plamen Ilchev was elected as the second deputy governor, receiving 124 in favor, three against, and one abstention.

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Czech Republic: Havel Leaves for State Visit to Ireland

LD2806123296 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1000 GMT 28 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] President of the Republic Vaclav Havel left this morning for a state visit to Ireland. Before his departure, he talked about his agenda:

[Begin Havel recording] As far as I know, it is the first ever visit to Ireland by the head of state of not just the Czech Republic, but Czechoslovakia as well. I am looking forward very much to this visit. Its agenda will be rich and at moments even quite unconventional.

I am looking forward to meeting and talking with President Mary Robinson. She is an exceptional person. I know her very well. She enjoys enormous popularity in her country, which is almost unusual. Ninety-four percent of the population supports her, which is something that other presidents can only dream of. She is someone who, like me, takes an interest in the current situation in the world, in various global issues. She is personally involved in the UN reforms, where we are together in the 16-member group of countries coming up with various initiatives aimed at reforming the United Nations. Naturally, I will discuss with her not only bilateral issues and the European Union, but also broader issues. [end recording]

Before his visit to Ireland, President Havel also expressed his satisfaction with the signed coalition agreement and the new parliamentary leadership.

Czech Republic: Secret Klaus-Zeman Talks Avert 'Crisis'

AU2806131496 Prague PRAVO in Czech 28 Jun 96 p 1

[Article by Alexandr Mitrofanov: "Klaus and Zeman at a Secret Meeting Resolved the Crisis Caused by the ODS Faction"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vaclav Klaus, chairman of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS], and Milos Zeman, chairman of the Czech Social Democratic Party [CSSD], met on Thursday [27 June] morning for the first time since the elections. They held an approximately hour-long private and confidential meeting in the rooms assigned to the parliamentary chairman and resolved the crisis caused a day earlier by the ODS Deputies Club.

That is, on Wednesday, the ODS faction had unilaterally revoked the agreement reached on Monday between the leaders of the three coalition parties' clubs and the Social Democrats on the distribution of posts in the parliamentary committees. Stanislav Gross, chairman of the CSSD faction, reacted straight away on Wednesday to the step taken by the ODS deputies by saying that the Social Democrats would not accept the cancellation of any of the agreements concluded and that, if the ODS were to bring about the collapse of the talks on the constitution of the new Chamber, the CSSD would be forced to pursue mainly its own interests and not those of the state.

The CSSD and ODS negotiators met soon after the Klaus-Zeman meeting and confirmed the validity of Monday's agreement. Nevertheless, in reply to a direct question from PRAVO on whether he had held talks with Zeman, Klaus said as he left the meeting: "No, no, no, no." Zeman, when he returned from his meeting with Klaus, confirmed indirectly that talks had taken place.

Former Chamber Chairman Milan Uhde (ODS) told PRAVO that he was not at the talks, although he would consider them to have been interesting, and that he did not mediate the Klaus-Zeman meeting. According to PRAVO's information, Zeman told the CSSD deputies that the meeting had been confidential and asked them not to talk about it in public.

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Slovakia: Meciar Resumes Regular Interviews

LD2906005596 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1636 GMT 28 Jun 96

[Studio interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Zuzana Stukovska—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Stukovska] After a fairly long break we are meeting again for our Friday interview. Let me open by asking you, Prime Minister, how you feel and whether you have now totally overcome your illness or whether your health has just improved faster partly due to stormy events on our political scene.

[Meciar] I am, of course, capable of performing my duties and I am performing them. However, I have some difficulties as regards completing my treatment and this might naturally lead to me falling ill again in future. Despite this, I am properly performing all the duties of my post.

[Stukovska] At the beginning of this week you mentioned three possible options for further political developments in Slovakia. Currently the most probable option seems to be that of the present coalition continuing. Given the experiences of the last few days, what aspects of relations [within the coalition] will be stronger and which more fragile? Are any changes going to be made to the present style of government which will be perceivable from the outside?

[Meciar] I do not think that there has been any problem as regards the style of government because the exercise of government power has not violated the law, the ethical code or democracy. [passage omitted]

Something has happened that needs to be taken into account when we consider further developments. It was not what was said but what was done at the session of the National Council, when the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] found itself in the minority because both the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS] and the Slovak National Party [SNS] voted with the Democratic Union [DU], the Hungarian parties and the Christian Democratic Movement on the issues of the OKO body [parliament's Special Supervisory Body overseeing the activities of the Slovak Intelligence Service] and the National Property Fund. [passage omitted]

The HZDS has thus found itself forming the government with the same [coalition] parties which acted in unison with opposition parties on the issues of the National Property Fund and bodies outside the government. This is what has happened.

Therefore, when we consider how to stabilize the new situation to prevent this happening again, we have to say that the HZDS needs to gain a broader political support than that from its coalition partners and thus needs to seek an agreement with the other political entities which want to reach such a consensus.

This a very important lesson we have now learnt from the current situation and which we had not envisaged. It concerns the fact that things can sharply change overnight and without warning, under any pretext. There is no doubt that this should be seen as a turning point in the sphere of political power because the next step was to concern television, radio, the Prosecutor's Office, followed by some other issues, including the law on the Slovak Intelligence Service.

This means that the program which had been started was quite wide-ranging. Certain conclusions have to be drawn from this by both the HZDS for its political orientation and by me as prime minister for the government's policy to stabilize it and not to allow shifts within political parties to have a negative impact on the government's performance.

[Stukovska] At present when Slovakia is filling in the EU application concerning its future membership and when a decision on its membership in NATO is going to be taken, the country urgently needs to send out positive signals to the world. [passage omitted]

[Meciar] Taking into account all the signals I have received from all the institutions we are working with—the Council of Europe, the Western European Union, NATO, the European Parliament and the institutions in Brussels—we have reached the conclusion that all the signals are more or less identical. They call for positive political steps as regards the relationship between our constitutional entities—that is between the president, parliament and the government—without specifying anybody else. They also call for an adjustment of relations between our coalition and the opposition, preserving that distinction between the coalition and the opposition but preventing it from turning into a permanent danger and leading to a new power struggle. [passage omitted] These elements are being generally assessed as possible sources of instability which in the case of our integration might cause problems inside their countries. They do not point out who is to blame, they do not point at the coalition or the opposition. It is impossible to say that one individual, one institution or one party are to be blamed for the situation. [passage omitted]

The only thing to do is to seek the ways out. We have not made any progress in this field. The current situation is provoked more by privatization problems than political problems. Privatization problems have

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been transferred into the political sphere. [passage omitted]

This is why during our talks with other parties—be it coalition parties, be it opposition parties—all called on the government to continue with its work till the end of its four-year term.

This is due to both internal and external conditions. As regards external conditions, those above-mentioned countries want to see the source of stability and an end to having an election campaign in this country every two years, want us to show that we are capable of governing the state for four years without commotions. The internal conditions concern the awareness that both abroad and at home we are well aware that if this government falls, it is impossible to form any other majority government. If the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], the Democratic Union [DU], the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement [MKDH] form a government, they can count on 53 or 55 votes in the parliament. If the HZDS forms a government with the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL], it might count on 79 votes in parliament but not everyone within the SDL has come to terms with forming such a relationship between us. This once again means uncertainty. If the game takes another turn, mutual clashes would make it impossible to continue. [passage omitted]

This is why during our talks with other parties we have been saying let us put an end to feeling sorry for ourselves and to engaging in such political struggles, now we need a consensus and a different way of communicating. It is natural that the individual results of our talks differ from each other.

If we want to send out positive signals as regards our accession to NATO, it is clear the longer instability goes on, the more certain it is that we will not become its member. As regards our accession to the European Union, the longer instability goes on, the more certain it is that though they will open a formal and polite dialogue with us, the final aim will never be reached.

This means that these external foreign policy aspects clearly indicate the limits of our options and the limits of our manoeuvres. This has thus become an issue of responsibility for the development of our state, our national interests and civic interests versus individual party interests in succeeding and damaging one's partner even at the cost of damaging the interests of our state. This is the current level of our discussions and interests.

Everybody is aware that if anything happens to the current government it might take a long time to form any new government. This awareness is a positive element, it means something new has emerged.

We also have to take into account that Slovakia has embarked on a number of long-term investments. [passage omitted] Any interruption of this process would result in great financial losses. This is another reason for us to seek stability and protect our citizens from these losses when politics would have a negative impact on our economy.

I would like to believe that the last three days will make everybody act responsibly and stabilize the situation in Slovakia, with the parties putting stability first and not trying to put their interests before those of the state.

[Stukovska] [Passage omitted] This Wednesday [Slovak president's son] Michal Kovac Jr. attempted to cross the border to Germany but was stopped at the [word indistinct] border crossing. [passage omitted] Have you not considered intervening in this case in order to free Slovakia of a problem which is not giving it a good name abroad?

[Meciar] In Slovakia there are several thousand people who are being prosecuted and several thousand people who are in prison for serious offenses. Michal Kovac Jr. is only one of them. [passage omitted]

I have to say that my powers are defined by the law. I do not work in the field of criminal proceedings. Why should I use political means to intervene in favor of Michal Kovac, why should I be more concerned for him than for the others whose father is not president or whose relative is not in a high position? [passage omitted]

I refuse to put my name to political puppet shows—Michal Kovac knew three days beforehand that he would not be allowed to leave the country and instead of respecting the law, he invites journalists, campaigning and begging for sympathy.

This is not a political case, it is a criminal case.

The HZDS has said that we will pay for Michal Kovac's trip to Munich and this is still valid. However, I will not violate the laws of this country in his favor. [passage omitted]

I do know enough but I keep silent in the interest of the state because I chair the state Defense Council and nobody can ever lift my oath of silence.

Let crimes be crimes and let politicians be active in political life in the interests of people. However, let us not use crimes to elicit political sympathy and force political decisions. I think that enough is enough.

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Slovakia: Meciar Recounts Talks With Coalition Parties

LD2906020496 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 28 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Members of the government coalition are holding talks in Trencianske Teplice today. [passage omitted] During a break in the talks, shortly after 1400, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar told Radiozurnal:

[Begin recording] [Stukovska] Prime Minister, is it still your intention to sign an agreement with the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] about its support for the prime minister?

[Meciar] [Passage omitted] What is the discussion about? Our question is: are the current coalition parties willing to fulfil the government's policy statement? The answer of the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS] is "no" to 20 percent of it, but they do not say which points of the program they oppose. [passage omitted] That is why I am asking: do we want to change the policy statement, do we want to continue with the current policy statement, or what is the vision for the future? The government's policy statement is not a copy of individual parties' programs, each party has its own program. It is a compromise that all the parties approved and all in parliament endorsed. Now, one of them cannot make up its mind whether to fulfill it or not.

We cannot say that nothing has happened because certain talks were held with the opposition behind our backs with the aim of reversing the situation. Only after we had taken a countermeasure did they start talking to us again. We are asking which persons [did that], what their motives were for doing it and whether the parties will draw any conclusions from it.

The current mechanisms of discussion led to a crisis in the coalition and its inability to function properly. We are proposing to our partners to agree on new ones and are asking them whether such agreement is possible. But I have not received any answer to this question either, at this moment. I am asking whether we can push through in parliament all the bills we have proposed, and, again, I have not received any answer from our partners.

As far as our attitude to the Party of the Democratic Left is concerned, we must stick to the facts. At a session of the party's leadership they declared they were willing to support not me, that is a wrong interpretation, but the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] in a minority government provided it is clearly stated that the current coalition does not exist any more, and that this support would last till elections in 1998. It means that the government will not fall but will not have a majority in parliament to push through legislation, which is also a problem.

We have proposed a different alternative—to hold talks on a possible coalition that would also include the [Association of] Workers [of Slovakia]. We have not received an answer to this proposal. Only to the first question [as heard].

As far as our interest in having the position of the government guaranteed is concerned, we welcome talks with the Party of the Democratic Left [words indistinct]. But we cannot regard the SDL as a spokesman for the whole opposition. We are willing to discuss matters that concern them and us. We cannot accept, however, that it [words indistinct] and demand that we make concessions to all the other parties that either do not talk to us or stick to their confrontational attitude. [passage omitted]

They must realise that if the current misunderstandings between political parties or in parliament are transferred to other institutions it would mean that the disputed issues will spread further [words indistinct]. This would mean that instead of easing the conflicts and tension in society, we would create more tension and again politicize all the institutions that, at the moment, are not political at all by and large.

Therefore, the talks we held with the SDL were very responsible and will continue. We want to reach an agreement on either closer cooperation or on stabilizing the government's position and political situation in Slovakia. We will propose agreements.

[Tosecka] Could you guess at this moment when the situation will clarify itself, also on the basis of your talks with the coalition partners today?

[Meciar] Maybe in an hour or two. But the basic outlines must be clear by Monday. [passage omitted] We must clearly state that this situation has caused great upheaval not only in the government coalition but also in the opposition. The result of this is that nothing will be the same as before. But it does not mean that there must be instability. If we have enough will to reach agreement it can be a process of revival, not a process of weakening.

[Tosecka] Does it mean that all the three alternatives of further development are open now as they were at the beginning of the week?

[Meciar] Yes, it does. [end recording]

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Slovakia: Party of Democratic Left on Coalition Crisis

LD2906213696 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 29 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A two-day extraordinary session of the national executive committee and the national council of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] ended in the Luna hotel in Vrutky this evening. Reporter Marian Ondas represented Radiozurnal at a news conference given by SDL officials.

[Ondas] [Passage omitted] The SDL national council today issued a statement on the internal political situation.

The SDL describes the present situation in Slovakia as a crisis within the government coalition whose members have started arguing among themselves, not about way how to solve problems but about who will gain a greater share in the privatization of financial institutions. [passage omitted]

SDL chairman Jozef Migas went on to say that the steps taken by the SDL had prevented a privatization putsch as well as Vladimir Meciar's departure into opposition which would have enabled him to avoid responsibility for his rule so far. The SDL initiated a meeting of political parties, the first one in two years, which renewed their dialogue.

The SDL chairman said that his party had achieved the enlargement of the parliament's Special Supervisory Body and the adoption of the law on suspending the privatization of financial institutions until 31 March 1997.

The SDL does not want chaos and the destabilization of government power in Slovakia.

The statement issued by the SDL national council also lists other steps aimed at strengthening democracy in Slovakia. The SDL will support an adequate representation of the opposition on National Council bodies and fight for a reconstruction of the Television and Radio Council and the National Property Fund bodies. The SDL also proposes to elect a representative of the opposition to the chair of the Supreme Inspection Office.

Jozef Migas said that the SDL was prepared to discuss these issues with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and other political parties. However, the SDL will not join a government which included the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] or the Slovak National Party [SNS].

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Hungary: Kovacs Defends Policy on Ethnic Hungarians Abroad

AU2806185896 Budapest 168 ORA in Hungarian 25 Jun 96 pp 8-9

[Interview with Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs by Andras Piko; place and date not given: "Pleadings and Dialogue"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Piko] At the recent conference of the World Federation of Hungarians, Prime Minister Gyula Horn said that the Hungarian Government was responsible only for the 10.5 million citizens of Hungary and for good relations with Hungary's neighbors, and only by extension was the government responsible for the ethnic Hungarian minorities living abroad.

[Kovacs] Let us remember the late Jozsef Antall's memorable statement; namely, that he wanted to be prime minister of 15 million Hungarians, at least in spirit. While this really nice statement understandably warmed the hearts of Hungarians living in neighboring countries, it led to serious attacks against Hungarian foreign policy. When he took office, Gyula Horn said that in line with constitutional law, he is the prime minister of 10.5 million Hungarian citizens. He added, though, that he naturally also felt responsible for the fate of the ethnic Hungarians living beyond Hungary's borders. This might be a less beautiful statement, but it is a precise and clear statement. After the aforementioned congress of the World Federation of Hungarians, Gyula Horn was criticized in parliament for not considering the kind of audience he was addressing. I think, however, that a politician cannot afford to say anything other than what he believes and what he usually represents at international talks. Aware of the situation of ethnic Hungarians living beyond the borders, many people understandably look at the mother country's policy toward them in an emotional way. This emotional political approach is out of the question for a country's government, prime minister, or foreign affairs minister.

[Piko] It cannot be accidental that a few misinterpreted sentences gave rise to such a scandal. How do you explain this?

[Kovacs] One of the reasons is the difference between the previous government's foreign policy and the present government's foreign policy. We believe that Euro-Atlantic integration, creating and maintaining good relations with neighbors, and supporting the ethnic Hungarians living beyond our borders are conditional to each other and cannot be subordinated to each other. The previous government examined the issues of international politics from the viewpoint of the ethnic Hungarians living beyond our borders. Understandably enough, many of the leaders of organizations of ethnic Hungarians abroad supported this. The current opposition politicians and the same leaders of the ethnic Hungarian minority abroad are demanding this from us now. In addition, I sense an effort on the part of certain opposition politicians to delay the beginning of negotiations on our EU or NATO membership until the next government. [passage omitted]

[Piko] You must convince the ethnic Hungarians abroad of the correctness of Hungarian foreign policy. I think you also feel that there is a lot to be done in this field. A two-day conference will soon be organized with the participation of the heads of the Hungarian Government, parliamentary parties, and organizations of ethnic Hungarians abroad, a conference where you can smooth out the differences of opinions that emerged at the latest conference of the World Federation of Hungarians.

[Kovacs] This does not mean that we suddenly realized that we must do something. Relations between the government and the organizations of ethnic Hungarians living abroad have been constant in the past two years. At the aforementioned conference, we will discuss the various autonomy concepts of the ethnic Hungarians living abroad. [passage omitted]

[Piko] Experts' negotiations on the Romanian-Hungarian basic treaty were renewed last week. In your view, when will the final text be ready, a final version acceptable to both sides?

[Kovacs] With some simplification, I can say that a single problem is hindering a solution to the other open questions as well, namely including the three international documents on national minority rights in the text of the planned basic treaty. Proposal No. 1201 of the Council of Europe is particularly under debate, and we also regarded its inclusion in the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty as essential, and also stick to it in our negotiations with the Romanians. We are seeking a solution that will not question any statement of the proposal and, at the same time, dissipates the fears of the Romanian side, fears that, in my opinion, are unjustified. [passage omitted]

[Piko] In your view, is there any chance of signing the basic treaty as soon as possible?

[Kovacs] We are working on this. We are convinced that this would fulfill the interests of both countries and both nations, including the interests of Hungary, the Hungarian nation, and the ethnic Hungarians living in Romania. The treaty, however, also depends on the will of the other side.

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B-H: Kornblum Attends Federation Forum Meeting

AU2706185996 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 27 Jun 96

[Report by Senda Cumurovic—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] After visiting Zagreb and Belgrade, John Kornblum, U.S. assistant secretary of state, visited Sarajevo today. He attended the work of the third meeting of the Forum of the Federation. Elections, freedom of movement, and the defense law were some of the issues that were discussed in Sarajevo. After the meeting, John Kornblum and Ejup Ganic addressed the journalists. Senada Cumurovic reports:

[Cumurovic] In addition to the president and the vice president of the Federation, Messrs. Zubak and Ganic respectively, and President Izetbegovic, who came to the Konak villa twice to take part in the work of the third meeting of the Forum of the Federation, the meeting was also attended by John Kornblum, assistant secretary of state, representing the United States.

U.S. diplomat Kornblum stressed the importance of this institution and the further development of the Federation and drew attention to the problems, which he did not define more precisely.

[Kornblum, in English with superimposed translation into Serbo-Croatian] I have to be very frank and say that, during the discussion, we also pointed out many differences and difficulties that are coming about with the concessions that we are making. Sometime when we make a step forward, we find that the very next step is difficult.

However, these problems are the result of the lack of will of some of the parties to respect things that will lead to progress. Therefore, we all stressed that it is important to show the political will to build the Federation as an entity in a Bosnia-Herzegovina that will emerge after the elections. We worked on many issues, including elections, the defense law, and the economic situation.

[Cumurovic] One of the participants in today's meeting of the Forum of the Federation, Ejup Ganic, mentioned some other issues that were discussed.

[Ganic] We have agreed to speed up work on regulating the payments transactions system, eliminate completely what is referred to as the government of Herzeg-Bosnia, [word indistinct] implementation on all levels, carry out the decisions of the arbiter [word indistinct]. The law on defense should be finished by [word indistinct] to help in that sense [word indistinct] the entire territory of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, human rights, the freedom of movement, the arrival of our citizens who are supposed to vote at the Mostar elections, and of course, the elections that will be held in September. [word indistinct] as one of the pillar of the Dayton agreement.

[Cumurovic] The hours-long talks at the third meeting of the Forum of the Federation, the body that was formed on U.S. initiative aimed at speeding up the implementation of the Washington agreement and the project of the Federation, ended without a major success or special results. It was agreed, however, that the next meeting will also be held in Sarajevo at the end of July.

B-H: High Turnout Reported in Mostar Election

LD3006211796 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 30 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The first postwar elections for city and six municipal councils were held in Mostar today. For the first time since the conflict started, the Neretva was not a separation line but a linking point. The initial, incomplete results, announced by the city electoral commission at a news conference this evening called by the European administrator for Mostar, Ricard Perez Casado, indicate that the turnout and the organization exceeded all expectations. Valid Dzindo reports from Mostar:

[Dzindo] [Passage omitted] Halil Setka, member of the city electoral commission, announced the initial results this evening.

[begin Setka recording] It is already clear that of the total number of registered voters, and according to the European Union administration they number over 99,000, a large number of Mostar citizens turned out to vote in the first postwar elections for city and six municipal councils.

Shortly before the polling stations closed at 1900, we learned in the city electoral commission that over 70 percent of registered voters voted in Sjever municipality. A slightly lower percentage cast their vote in Jugoistok municipality where, according to incomplete results, 65 percent of voters voted. According to incomplete results we received shortly before 1900, about 50 percent of voters voted in Municipality Five, Jugozapad. In Municipality Two, Stari Grad, the turnout was over 45 percent. In Municipality Four, the percentage was slightly lower at 35 percent.

In Municipality Six, Zapad, the turnout was slightly over 50 percent. And finally, in the city's central zone over 55 percent registered voters voted at two polling stations. If we add the figure of almost 10,000 voters who cast their vote in Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and Germany, the turnout will be even higher.

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Let us note the that the overall impression was marred by the fact that a large number of people could not find their names on the electoral lists and were thus prevented from voting. [end recording]

B-H: Serbs Allegedly 'Beaten' During Elections

AU0107112796 Bad Vilbel VESTI in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jul 96 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Mostar Serbs Vote and Receive Beatings"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday, Muslims attacked the Mostar Serbs who had gone from Belgrade to vote at the local elections for delegates in six municipalities and for the town council, which is to be the first joint institution of the divided town. Around 100,000 citizens of Mostar voted, and the results will be declared today.

According to a report by Radio Zagreb, two Serbs were beaten up in the eastern part of Mostar, which is under Muslim control. Foreign agencies have reported that more Serbs were beaten up. Of the approximately 40,000 Serbs who were already banished from Mostar in the first year, only 160 came to vote. Only a few hundred Serbs had stayed in the town itself.

The Serb refugees went from Belgrade to vote because they are not permitted to vote in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and in the Serb Republic, unlike the Muslims and the Croats who can vote abroad. Even citizens of Mostar who now live in Slovenia, Austria, and Germany arrived in Mostar in order to vote.

According to the Croat radio station's sources in the ministry, the Muslim government interior ministry explained this incident by claiming that the buses carrying the Mostar Serbs, including a VESTI correspondent, had, "in discord with what was agreed upon," arrived at "a place that was not foreseen for them."

According to the Muslim ministry, a number of "rowdies," were supposedly identified and will be brought before the appropriate authorities.

The Croat radio station's report does not mention an incident that, according to foreign agencies, happened in the Croat part of Mostar, where Muslims were attacked. Enraged Croats stoned at least two buses carrying Muslims from the eastern part of Mostar who had gone to vote in the western, Croat, part of the town, where they had lived before the start of the fighting between the current allies.

The spokesman for the European police said that no one was hurt in this incident, but that a number of windows were broken on the buses. Around 2,500 IFOR [Implementation Force] soldiers took care of security in Mostar, as well as a few hundred policemen. Foreign observers, who are to assess whether the elections were free and fair, covered all the election sites.

B-H: EU Officials Play Down Call for Rerun of Election

AU3006184896 Paris AFP in English 1837 GMT 30 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina, June 30 (AFP)—EU officials Sunday played down a Moslem protest over elections in this southern Bosnian city, Bosnia's first post-war polls.

EU spokesman Dragan Gasic said that according to their figures, 300 or 400 people had faced problems after their names appeared on the central register but not on registers at their local polling stations.

Bosnian Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic said earlier that there were problems with 20 percent of the names—over 99,000 people are registered—and that the Bosnian Moslems had registered a protest over this.

"I believe that the elections will be repeated in some areas. We can tolerate a certain percentage but not 20 percent," he said.

Gasic said that to the EU: "it doesn't look like 20 percent."

An EU diplomat who did not want to be named told AFP that it was just criticism.

"We are not even treating it as a protest, it's not even official," he said. The municipal elections are intended to help reunite the town, divided between Moslems in the east and Croats in the west who fought for 11 months in 1993 and 1994.

They are being organised by the European Union which has administered Mostar since July 1994.

B-H: Casado Describes Mostar Elections as 'Successful'

AU0107083196 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 1 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The first postwar elections were held in Mostar yesterday. The residents of Mostar, including those living all over Europe, yesterday voted for the town council and six municipal councils.

According to reports so far, the elections passed off without any major incidents. The turnout was good. The first results of the local elections in Mostar are expected today.

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EU observers are satisfied with the elections that took place in Mostar yesterday. Despite some problems in the organization of the elections, there were no serious or violent incidents.

The representatives of the Bosniak side lodged a protest because a large number of names was missing in the electoral rolls.

EU Mostar Administrator Ricardo Peers Casado described the elections as successful.

The first unofficial results show that about 4,000 residents of Mostar voted in Bonn, about 760 in Bern, and about 1,500 in Oslo and Stockholm.

B-H: Steiner Criticizes Treatment of Sarajevo Serbs

AU2606193996 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jun 96 p 5

[Interview with Ambassador Michael Steiner, deputy of the international community high representative, by Amra Kebo; place and date not given: "I Am Ashamed of Sarajevo"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "I am ashamed of Sarajevo," Ambassador Michael Steiner, the deputy of the international community high representative, says speaking about what is going on at the moment in the Sarajevo suburbs of Ilidza, Vogosca, and Ilijas, in which the transfer of power was carried out. Approximately 8,000 Serbs who stayed in these suburbs have been exposed to terror lately, resulting in 12 families already having left their homes and a large number getting ready to leave.

"I am ashamed personally, since I promised the Serbian inhabitants of Sarajevo, physicians for example, that they would not lose their jobs. I have seen, however, that two weeks after the transfer of power in Ilidza, a pediatrician, who I promised would retain his job, was dismissed. The things going on in the areas that have been put under the rule of the Federation are a shame for this city. I have to ask myself why does President Izetbegovic not speak about these events. Where is the pride of the multiethnic inhabitants of Sarajevo? Nobody can explain to me that it is impossible to protect 8,000 Serbs, who have stayed in Sarajevo, from robbery, from criminals, and from burglaries in houses during the night. There are concrete cases of burglaries every day, everybody knows about them, and no one can say that the police is not in the position to prevent them."

The Official Leadership Is Silent....

I really have to ask why Reis-I-Ulema Mustafa Ceric, who constantly talks about the return of refugees, who requires that they should made use of their rights, has not raised his voice against this situation? Ilidza, Ilijas, and Vogosca were filled with refugees after the transfer of power. They are beginning to create parallel structures of the government at the local level. They enter Serbian houses and ask them how many rooms they have; they decide how many rooms they need. Windows in Serbian houses are broken every night, various objects are stolen from houses... The Serbs from whom something has been stolen go to the police, make a report about the theft, the police makes a protocol, and nothing happens after that. No one can tell me that the city that defended itself for three years from Karadzic's troops, cannot protect 8,000 people.

What I do not understand is that there were demonstrations for the multiethnic joint life here at the beginning of the war. What about demonstrations today?

[Kebo] Do you mean the demonstrations that were organized immediately before the war, which were followed by cruel Serbian attacks on the city?

[Steiner] Yes, there were demonstrations at that time. The whole city stood against those who opposed the multiethnic life in the city. The things going on in this city now, in peace, can be characterized as ethnic engineering.

No one can say that he does not know about it. All reports on what is going on are permanently submitted to governmental institutions. The president does not mention it, the head of the Islamic community does not speak about it, those who have always supported the Sarajevo multiethnic spirit and the joint life do not organize demonstrations now. The fact is that 8,000 Serbs, who remained in the city despite the horrible propaganda from Pale, are scared to death and are beginning to leave the city. Where are we going? I am really ashamed of this city, I am ashamed of my work, I am ashamed of Sarajevo.

[Kebo] What do you think about the situation in which one of the Bosniaks on Kobilja Glava who planted something in a field there, which had been cleared of mines, lost his legs after he returned to the field several days later to see in what condition his plants were! The whole field was full of mines again. Who did it?

[Steiner] What does this have to do with the events I mentioned? Everybody knows that police reports are made, and, in spite of that, these things happen again and again. People here always speak about multiethnic Sarajevo, but the things going on point to the contrary. The suburbs are full of refugees, nobody says who organizes their return. But they are there and they take revenge on the Serbs who live there because of what happened to them earlier. The epilogue of the whole thing is that this society is moving toward a monoethnic community. This is what is going on right now.

Nobody can reproach me for not being open toward the things going on in the Serbian Republic, but it is very

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difficult to defend the rights of Bosniaks, who claim their right to return to every part of the country, if the policy pursued in their city day after day is contrary to what is proclaimed as the aim throughout the country.

[Kebo] Former Chetniks who shelled this city, who tortured the people in detention camps, who still have the same positions, can enter the city whenever they want. We are confronted with the same situation as after World War II, when victims could see their torturers running freely around. How do you interpret it?

[Steiner] We can discuss it, but we cannot approve of the policy pursued at the moment. We can permanently see the attempts to justify the situation with the following works: I have done it, because they did the same thing to me. This is not the point, however. The question is whether you want a city that will be the capital of the entire country, in which case you must behave accordingly. I would really like to see someone who supports it. And I cannot see anybody. I consider it very irresponsible and shameful.

...The Police Are Silent

[Kebo] Have you discussed this with one of the officials?

[Steiner] Of course I have. I have discussed it with President Izetbegovic, with Muratovic, with Hebib. Everybody agrees that this is not all right, but people are robbed and disturbed in spite of that. If there were real political will, this would be done. Where is the solidarity of multiethnically oriented inhabitants of Sarajevo?

I have seen these scared people, who do not deserve to be treated like this. And it is not the population of Sarajevo that does these things. Everything is full of refugees, they are not used to living in a multiethnic society, they live in suburbs and think that, if they are refugees, they can do anything they want and that the Serbs, regardless of the fact that they come from Sarajevo and have always lived here, have fewer rights than they. Whether organized or not, the things going on in Sarajevo, are ethnic engineering.

[Kebo] What do the police do?

[Steiner] In Ilijas, Vogosca, and Ilidza mines are being placed in front of the houses of Serbs who want to persuade the people to stay. Do you know what has happened to Maksim Stanisic? When he came home one day, all of his furniture was thrown out. He went to the police, this was recorded and a report was made. On the following day windows, and after that all balcony doors disappeared.... There are police patrols, and this happens all the time.

I am disappointed, I am really disappointed that nothing is being done against these robberies, although many promises have been made. The international UN police make reports and submit them to the local police. The local police say that there are many problems and that they are doing what they can. I do not believe in all this, however, since it has lasted for too long already. If there was the wish, this situation would have been prevented. The city that was able to defend itself for three and a half years must be able to prevent such a behavior and achieve Sarajevo's again being the city it has always been—multiethnic.

[Kebo] How would you explain the fact that the Serbs who destroyed and robbed everything during the transfer of power, want to return now?

[Steiner] Yes, they want to return to their apartments in their city.

...Everybody Is Silent

[Kebo] Which they destroyed?

[Steiner] This happened all over the country.

[Kebo] Yes, but Sarajevo is specific.

[Steiner] Specific is also what is happening now. What do you think happened in Mrkonjic-grad? Or in other places, on all sides? There are houses all over Bosnia that were destroyed by Bosniaks when it came to the transfer of power....

[Kebo] The Croatian Defense Council entered Mrkonjic-Grad, however.

[Steiner] As far as Sarajevo is concerned, I can tell you that I believed in this city. If no energy comes from the city, however, if the same things happen here as everywhere else, how can it be defended? And how can this city be expected to start functioning? I cannot accept the explanation that certain things are happening here because the same things happened somewhere else too. Nobody raises a voice against this. Everybody is silent.

B-H: SDA Spokesman on Election Participation Conditions

AU0107094896 Sarajevo DNEVNI AVAZ in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jun 96 p 7

[Article by S. Racic: "Elections Even Under Minimal Conditions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] One of the topics at yesterday's scheduled press conference of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] was the election climate in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The SDA spokesman, Ismet Grbo, said that "apart from the renewal of the HRHB [Croat Republic of

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Herzeg-Bosnia] government, the events in the Serb entity represent another obstacle to democratic and fair elections. I am primarily thinking of the avoidance of handing over Radovan Karadzic to The Hague. His withdrawal from the presidential throne is a positive act, but incomplete, because Karadzic remains on the political throne. And not only that. He also needs to answer for his war crimes."

Grbo emphasized that the SDA will take part in the elections if the minimal conditions are met. These conditions are: the elimination of war criminals, freedom of political organization, and freedom of the press. He added that none of these conditions have been fulfilled, but that, despite this, there is a positive political climate in Bosnia-Herzegovina. "Progress has been noticed regarding political organization in the Serb entity. The voice of the opposition is evident there," Grbo said.

Halid Ganjac, the president of the SDA Executive Committee and the president of the Committee for the Implementation of the Elections, once again called on all refugees and those who are exiled to register to vote in absentia, regardless of where they are.

"They have to go to the closest electoral committee as soon as possible and submit their applications in order to fulfill the voting conditions," Ganjac said.

He emphasized that, in August, the SDA will express its position on taking part in the elections.

He said that "our commitment will depend on the assessment of what kind of influence the elections will have on the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina. If we assess that the elections will contribute to the integration of Bosnia-Herzegovina, then we will take part in the elections, but we assess that the elections will contribute to the disintegration of our country, then we will not take part."

According to Ganjac, it is up to the international community to ensure the necessary conditions for the elections within the next two months.

When asked whether if SDA will join in a coalition with any of the parties, Ganjac said that it is common practice that the stronger parties run independently, but that this does not exclude the creation of coalitions with other parties. Ganjac could not tell us anything more when speaking concretely about the SDA.

Ganjac once again emphasized that, at the elections, the SDA will participate on all seven levels.

B-H: Buha Comments on Karadzic's Transfer of Powers

LD3006201396 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1756 GMT 30 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] London, 30 Jun (SRNA)—Dr. Aleksa Buha, foreign minister of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, confirmed today that, in line with the constitution, Serb Republic President Dr. Radovan Karadzic has only transferred his powers to Vice President Biljana Plavsic.

Dr. Buha told a BBC World Service program in Serbian today that in this case a constitutional provision has been used according to which the president can transfer his powers to one of his vice presidents if he is otherwise engaged or cannot perform his duties.

Dr. Buha denied claims that, under the provisions of the Dayton agreement, President Karadzic also cannot be the leader of the party because he has been indicted for alleged war crimes.

"Under the Dayton agreement, those suspected of war crimes cannot be nominated for public office, i.e. for state posts. Party posts are not encompassed by this paragraph," Dr. Buha said.

Dr. Buha also pointed out the illogical, even contradictory, character of the international community's demands that Dr. Karadzic should not stand in the forthcoming elections in the Serb Republic when such demands are put into the context of the Dayton agreement provisions covering this issue:

"How could it be possible for us to implement clause 2 of the very same Dayton agreement, that is the final part of the annexe on elections, in which the international community recalls the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe's 1990 document adopted in Copenhagen whereby the power of each country's government must be (?based) on the freely expressed will of its people."

Minister Buha recalled that in the Serb Republic the people, through rallies at which 300,000 to 400,000 persons took part, explicitly and in a plebiscite-style manner asked that Dr. Karadzic continue to be the president of the Serb Republic. The same demand was put forward by the People's Assembly and the assembly of the Serb Democratic Party.

"When we take these facts into account, if Dr. Karadzic does not put forward his candidacy at the elections the international community, using the very same clause, could proclaim our elections as not being lawful, even as illegal," the foreign minister of the Serb Republic warned.

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B-H: Bildt's Office Allegedly Drafted Karadzic Resignation

AU3006210996 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1814 GMT 30 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Pale, 30 Jun—The text of the letter in which Serb Republic [RS] President Radovan Karadzic informed High Commissioner Carl Bildt that he was handing over his powers to Vice President Biljana Plavsic was not drafted by Karadzic himself, a source close to the RS leadership in Pale told BETA.

According to this source, the text was proposed by the international community, that is, by Carl Bildt's office in Sarajevo.

The same source claims that the text of the document on the handover of power, along with Karadzic's signature and seal, had been returned from Pale on 26 June. Moreover, the only version of the text that could be obtained in Pale was in English.

The same source said that according to the RS Constitution, Karadzic's resignation should be endorsed by the RS Assembly. Moreover, the Assembly should also hold elections for a new president as soon as possible, which could complicate and hinder preparations for elections that the international community has scheduled for September.

The source contacted by BETA's correspondent said the clause on the handover of power to Biljana Plavsic had been worded in this way because the international community does not want a complicated procedure in the Assembly, which still strongly supports Karadzic.

B-H: OSCE's Cotti Reacts to Karadzic's Withdrawal

AU0107123496 Paris AFP in English 1218 GMT 1 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, July 1 (AFP)—Flavio Cotti, current chief of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), reacted cautiously Monday to the decision by Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic to cease his functions as president of the Bosnian Serb entity in Bosnia.

"The news coming from the region is not totally clear," the Swiss foreign minister told reporters after a meeting with UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali.

However, he added, "to the extent that those accused of war crimes will continue to have an influence of whatever kind on the elections... that could be disastrous for the elections" to be held in Bosnia on September 14. Karadzic, who on Sunday handed over his powers to his protegee and fellow hard-liner Biljana Plavsic, has been indicted by the UN war crimes tribunal.

B-H: Opposition Leader Calls Karadzic Resignation 'Farce'

AU3006204396 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1648 GMT 30 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 30 Jun—Miodrag Zivanovic, president of the Social Liberal Party of the Serb Republic, said today that the news of Radovan Karadzic's handover of power to Biljana Plavsic was "a farce which the internatinal community would certainly not accept."

Zivanovic told BETA that Karadzic and the entire Pale leadership "are acting out a farce in which no one knows what is happening since Karadzic is and is not the president of the Serb Republic all at the same time."

"This is not logical, but it is consistent with Pale's policy," Zivanovic said.

He stressed that international diplomacy, experienced in Pale's games, "will certainly find a way to eliminate the results of the farce" and that Karadzic would not be able to stand in elections since the OSCE Temporary Election Committee "has a very firm stance on the issue."

B-H: Karadzic Addresses SDS Assembly

LD2806233296 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1840 GMT 28 Jun 96

[Speech by Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic and president of the Serb Democratic Party, at an assembly of the Serb Democratic Party in Pale on 28 June; no video available—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dear assembly, dear guests: Six years have passed since the founding of the SDS [Serb Democratic Party] in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, six eventful years of suffering, six years of the culmination of historical processes the direction and purpose of which were fateful for the Serb people as a whole, and especially for the Serbs west of the Drina.

These have at the same time been six years of political and four years of military struggle to halt the processes of dissolution and disappearance of the Serb identity in this region, processes which have been going on for centuries and which were governed by the interests of powers hostile toward them. The party came into being at the moment of the death throes of a system which had, through ideological lies, lulled our nation into a

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stupor and devastated it, both in the spiritual and the economic sphere.

It was only after the appearance of the familiar symbols of fascism in Croatia and Islamic fundamentalism in Bosnia, it was only after the flags of allies from World War II were again being waved, threatening a repetition of the genocide they perpetrated against the Serbs, that our people pulled themselves out of this stupor and started working for their salvation.

New necessities are giving rise to new forces, Njegos [Montenegrin poet, religious leader, and statesman] said. New forces always appear among the people at moments of new suffering. The new force that appeared as a response to fascist and fundamentalist threats to the Serb nation was the Serb Democratic Party.

The Serb Democratic Party arose from living memories of massacres in World War II, massacres without precedent in the history of the world, massacres that the indifferent international community neither remembered nor condemned. The party was set up by the people who recognized old symbols and rhetoric, flags and ideas which led to the deaths, in pits and camps, of over 700,000 innocent Serb civilians. The party was set up by the people, not the tried and tested, experienced politicians of Serb origin, who have for decades sold out Serb interests, but by the people of ordinary professions to whom the salvation of the people from the familiar forces of destruction, fascism, and Islamic fundamentalism was more important than their own lives.

The party was created by members of the Academy of Sciences, artists, doctors, philosophers, university professors, teachers and pupils, engineers, lawyers, peasant farmers, industrial workers, the unemployed—in a word, people without any special political passions, apart from a passion for freedom and justice.

Never was a political party created by so many people who did not want power, and who did not create it in order to take power but to ensure their bare survival and save their endangered people.

The goals and tasks of the party, announced at the founding assembly on St. Peter's Day 1990, were very modest. The intentions of the founders were to formulate a democratic reply to violent and undemocratic challenges, to the breakup of the Yugoslav state, and to the dismemberment of the Serb ethnic and historical area. AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia, World War II meeting in Jajce establishing republican borders of Tito's Yugoslavia] and Comintern [international communist] borders were destroyed and surrendered to the enemy.

The SDS did everything in its power to save the people and the state. The work of the Serb deputies in the assembly of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, work which proceeded before the eyes of frightened people, showed that manifestations of political violence, motivated by fascism and Islamic fundamentalism, could not tolerate a democratic reply. We were being outvoted and humiliated only to be finally deprived of our constitutional rights, excluded from parliamentary life in the end and faced with a fait accompli in the form of the unilateral secession of Bosnia-Herzegovina from Yugoslavia.

Our cooperative attitude toward the international community in the work on the Lisbon Agreement was in vain. This agreement is of enormous historical importance because it recognized our right to a state unit on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina even before the war, even without war and the so-called aggression which we allegedly committed against ourselves.

The concessions we made then in order to preserve peace were so enormous that they were difficult to comprehend. We accepted the secession of this Yugoslav republic [Bosnia-Herzegovina], which could not be stopped, and its independence, which never existed, on the condition that we be given our constituent unit—this meant that our unit was not to be in the common state with other Serbs. Any decent nation in the world would have stopped the division of its territories with all means at its disposal, but we accepted it with a minimum of conditions only in order to avoid war.

But our readiness to cooperate was pointless. The international community recognized Bosnia- Herzegovina before its planned transformation in a community of three national states, as agreed by all three sides. Bosnia was recognized several weeks prematurely, although all those who recognized it were aware that the recognition would lead to war. In any case their aim was to provoke a war that would result in the Serbs being expelled from Bosnia to Serbia. This would, of course, lead to the downfall of the Republic of Serb Krajina [in Croatia].

The international players who pushed the Muslims and Croats into the war against the Serbs were very skillful in managing the war. They supported it in line with their interests, scuppering all peace initiatives at the last moment and offering solutions that meant the prolongation of the war.

Throughout the war the Serb side did its utmost to end it. We declared countless unilateral cease-fires which ended up being rejected; we offered peace and solutions acceptable to everyone; we came up with the declaration on ending the war; we accepted mediators of all sorts;

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we listened to friend and foe—but in vain. We were, and still are, under unjust pressures from both friend and foe, despite the fact that we had against us the entire military, political, intelligence, and economic might of the six-times stronger enemy, the Republic of Croatia and Muslim-Croat Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In the end, the West's military machine joined our enemy and its hostile operations against our state, army, and people, destroying everything in its path and eventually forcing us to accept the Dayton agreement with all its unjust territorial and political solutions, occupation, and interference with our democratic rights to choose our authorities according to the people's will. The Dayton agreement invokes the Copenhagen declaration which says that authorities must reflect people's will, but its provisions are contrary to both the Copenhagen declaration and all recognized legal norms.

But we agreed to accept the Dayton agreement and peace despite its unfairness. We have been implementing it consistently, according to deadlines and without misinterpreting its meaning as the other sides have been doing. Still, despite all this, we are being crucified on the cross of martyrdom.

Even after peace was established, and despite our cooperation, the campaign putting obstacles in the way of the Serb people continued with threats and pressures from all quarters, even from those from which nothing but understanding and support should ever have come. Such a struggle marked the first six years of the SDS, the struggle against gigantic forces.

What does the international community want from us? Which rights, apart from the right of cruel force and violence, are the basis of its requests that we should accept the unacceptable, give up the minimum which has been offered and accepted—or, rather, enforced upon us—and which is again being disputed?

The international community has not recognized and remembered the crimes committed by the Muslims and Croats against the Serb people during World War I and World War II. The international community has not recognized the revival of the same ideologies, it has not recognized the revival of Greater Germany and its victory, the accomplishment of its goals from World War II.

The international community has not recognized that bombs in New York—bombs in Paris, Algeria, Egypt, Lebanon, India, Saudi Arabia, bombs which blow into pieces children of that same international community—were planted by the same ideology and the same hand, the ideology and the hand of Islamic fundamentalism which is in Bosnia killing Serb children and old people, which killed its own children and old people in Markale [massacre at Sarajevo market] and Vase Miskina Street [bread queue massacre], at playgrounds and kindergartens. The international community has seen this and known about this but it refuses to acknowledge and recognize it.

The international community wants to see the Serbs as the guilty party and the criminals, while they are in fact the only real victims of the Yugoslav war destruction. A very few, albeit belatedly conscientious officials of the same international community show evidence that the international community possesses full knowledge as to who are the criminals and who are the victims. These conscientious officials should not be attacked and we are grateful to them for telling the truth—even if belatedly.

What does such an international community, which bases its behavior on injustice, illegality, dishonesty, brutal force, media and other lies, on deceitful diplomacy—what does such a community demand from us? And what will happen to a community whose unity is based on everything contrary to human and divine laws? Is it possible even to survive in such an international community? The Serb nation west of the River Drina—with the exception of the unfortunate Serb Krajina—whose difficult business has been conducted in the last six years by the Serb Democratic Party, has shown that it is possible for it to survive and that it must survive, if it follows the path of God, and if it is being led by those who will not betray them, by those who do not make their decisions under the pressure of fear, by those who are not impressed by force and threats.

A fearful ruler achieves nothing—to quote Njegos again—he who is incapable of leadership should not put himself at the head of a nation because he will bring misfortune upon the whole nation. He who is not daring should not dare others.

The leaders who surfaced through the SDS did not betray the people. They identified their own fate with the fate of the people, in the same way that the most wonderful young men who died defending their homes did.

Misunderstood by everyone except our own people, condemned by everyone except our own people, abandoned by everyone except by God, we succeeded in doing what dozens of downtrodden peoples that are fighting for freedom and a state of their own have failed to do. We created a state for our people and the prerequisites for its development and further independence by democratic means.

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Not a single political party in the history of the Serb people, or other peoples, has ever been charged with such a lofty mission and responsibility. And no party has ever managed to achieve similar results for its people in such a short period of time as the SDS has done.

The defense of the people from genocide and the organization of defense of the state in the face of boundless might are not the only achievements the SDS. The party created conditions for personal and political freedom unparalleled for centuries in this region. We waged a war against the enemy without holding a single political prisoner, without having a single political trial, a single execution. For the first time in several centuries our people in this region do not fear their authorities, their police, and their leaders.

The people view their police and their authorities as they should, as a service for achieving national goals. Although we had no freedom for centuries, we got used to it very quickly, which proves that only freedom is a natural state, while the denial of freedom is an unnatural one. The power which the party exercised enabled it to feed and defend the people and the state at the most difficult moments.

It would be unjust not to mention with gratitude all those from Serbia and Montenegro who worried and suffered with us, who sent us as much aid as they could and who still now understand and support us. Some of them are here now in this room. [applause] It would be unjust not to mention the assistance and understanding forwarded from other countries, primarily from friendly Greece [applause], Russia, Cyprus, Bulgaria, Romania, and Orthodox countries and peoples who know what is happening here and who the victim is.

In addition to defending and liberating the people, or rather, introducing political liberties, the SDS considerable changed society, the social and political system and removed itself from socialism and its deadly consequences. [applause] Social ownership has been abolished and the law on privatization has been passed. [applause] The assembly decided to carry out denationalization and, by restoring property, put right as much as possible injustices suffered by both those who are watching their property fall apart as part of social assets, and those who fled their home regions.

Laws have been passed which will make possible fruitful cooperation with the world's economies. The economic system planned by the SDS is based on the natural aspirations and rights of individuals and families to be the masters of their own property and their own fate. In the process of privatization we planned to make every family, every individual, including newborn babies, owners of former socialist and state property.

Those most deserving will be given most; that is, those who created and defended this country—fighters, the families of dead soldiers, people who were maimed or otherwise suffered in the war, pensioners—who showed solidarity in sharing the expenses for the defense of the country—workers who worked for low wages or for nothing at all, doctors and medical staff who performed miracles in impossible conditions, all those who stayed and shared the fate of the people and defended the young Serb state.

The party has planned an economic system in which the state's expenditure will be cut to a minimum, taxes and contributions will be as low as possible, freedom to conduct business as great as possible. This economic system will favor the creation of a strong middle class, the economic recovery of most people, the setting up of many small and middle-sized private businesses, while the existing large enterprises will be preserved, restructured, and see their production efficiency raised in conditions of the market economy and privatization.

The party opted for free society and the market economy, and against all murky and unclear models of ownership, against violence in society and false social justice which socialism created and maintained by force as a pure illusion.

The party's program, which we all have in front of us, envisages the revival of agriculture and the village, the rehabilitation of science and technology, a reform of the education and health systems, the reaffirmation of national culture, the return of the Serbian Orthodox church to people's lives, and genuine social protection, based less on regular contribution and aid and more on providing decent assets for and the financial strengthening of the sections of society which may need social protection.

The program envisages the protection of the family and women as the buttress of family and society, care for a positive birth rate, and especially care for the families of dead soldiers, people who were maimed and suffered during the war. The program envisages the beefing up of the pension fund and ensuring comfort for the elderly.

The government has already started providing as a matter of urgency accommodation for refugees and expelled people and conditions are being created for the return of refugees from Yugoslavia, including the Serbs who fled from the Republic of Serb Krajina and who decide to live in the Serb Republic. We are hereby inviting them to come. [applause] The Serb Republic will grant citizenship to any Serb in the world who asks for it. [applause]

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The SDS is a very clear-cut and recognizable force for its people. The party confirmed its people-orientated and democratic character and became the focus of the majority of our people after the recently completed internal party elections and with the help of its democracy and freedom, its tolerance toward everyone, and its responsibility in exercising power. Many party members have renewed their membership, especially soldiers and officers who are being discharged from their units.

The support of women and young people of the SDS, as well as the support of Serbs in the diaspora, are assuring us that we are on the right path of achieving the basic national goals.

We will ensure freedom in a free state for our people, we will provide unity, future, and conditions for the economic, cultural, spiritual, and every other form of revival.

We will be brothers to brothers, friends to friends, neighbors to neighbors, an indestructible rampart to enemies. We will treat everyone the way they treat us.

We are offering reconciliation to the international community, but without further humiliations for the Serb people and threats to its interests. [applause] We are capable of being among the most stable and healthiest states and societies in the region without abandoning our hopes and intentions to unite with other Serb countries.

We have succeeded and we are going on. The people and their state are above everything, above all of us, and we will serve our people as our Lord Jesus Christ said in the Gospel: He who wants to be the first among you must serve you, and as the late Jovan Raskovic, the ideological founder of the SDS, used to say. [applause]

I will not enumerate all [word indistinct] of the SDS and the Serb people (?although) this is a good opportunity for that. I will not enumerate them because they are not asking for recognition as they took what they did as their duty. Our achievements are huge, the victims we suffered awesome, the goals sacred. The fate of this generation of Serbs is great and it must be fulfilled to the core, courageously and with dignity, as God's will is expected and accepted.

With faith in God and the Serb national identity, let us continue on our just path into time and events.

B-H: Speakers at SDS Assembly Support Karadzic

LD2806234396 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1555 GMT 28 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 28 Jun (SRNA)—In her welcoming speech to the assembly of the Serb Democratic Party [SDS] in Pale, Professor Dr. Smilja Avramov, speaking in the name of the committee for the protection of Serbs from the Hague tribunal, expressed full support for the SDS leadership in their efforts to safeguard the sovereignty of the Serb Republic.

She said that she does not recognize the border on the river Drina and recalled Dr. Karadzic's words that no one has the right to divide the Serb nation.

"With this idea in mind we set up this committee with the aim that not a single Serb should be taken from Serb land in chains. This was done in the Middle Ages, when the Serbs were being taken into the janissars [Turkish elite army corps]," Professor Avramov said.

The beginning of proceedings against President Karadzic and General Mladic at the Hague tribunal, according to her, constitutes a new provocation against the Serb nation as a whole, because symbols of its freedom have been attacked.

"Let us remain united in a united front of defense of the Serb state," Smilja Avramov said.

Tomislav Nikolic, vice president of the Serbian Radical Party, made a speech at the assembly, saying that without the Serb state on this side of the river Drina there would be no state on the other side either.

Slobodan Rakitic, president of the People's Assembly Party, addressed the assembly, saying that safeguarding the [Bosnian] Serb Republic is of importance for safeguarding Kosmet, the area of Raska, and Vojvodina, which, he added, the international community wants to tear away from Serbia.

He said that the ruling regime in Serbia used the suffering of Serbs from western Serbian lands to strengthen its power but that such an unfair attitude has no support among the people.

"The ties between the Serb Republic and the FRY are a strategic aim, but one should be ready to go one's own way. I believe in the success and the victory of the Serb Democratic Party because the Serb Republic is the fortress of all Serbdom," Rakitic concluded.

Miroljub Jeftin, the well-known expert on Islam, gave his full support to the leadership of the SDS and added that the Serb Republic is today the real core of the Serb nation.

"If the Serb Republic is not the core and Dr. Karadzic is not the leader of the Serb people, then there are no Serbs," Jeftic said.

Words of support for the leadership of the SDS were heard also from Mirko Jovic, president of the People's

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Renewal Party, and Slobodan Gavrilovic, representative of the People's Party, as well as many other guests from the Serb Republic, Serbia, and Montenegro.

B-H: SDS Assembly Adopts Policy Document

LD2806214096 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1955 GMT 28 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 28 Jun (SRNA)—Serb national identity, democracy, freedom, parliamentary state with rule of law and order, free market economy, private, mixed and state ownership—these form the basis of the program of the Serb Democratic Party [SDS] (of the Serb lands) which its members adopted tonight during the continuation of the SDS assembly session.

The party's program covers all segments on which the successful functioning of a modern, contemporary state is based, from economy to culture.

This document envisages, among other issues, the recovery of agriculture and the countryside, rehabilitation of science and technology, reform of education and health service, reaffirmation of the national culture, return of the role of the Serbian Orthodox church, and real social welfare.

The program also envisages the strengthening of the pension fund and the affirmation of the place of the family and women in society.

The members of the assembly adopted the party's statute, according to which the party's cell is the local organization, while its constituent parts will also be on the levels of the municipality, city, and Serb lands.

According to the statute, the assembly is the highest body of the SDS. Every municipal organization elects five representatives to the assembly. One representative is elected by the assembly of the organization of municipalities, with more than 40,000 members. Presidents of the municipal committees of the SDS are by virtue of their function also representatives in the assembly.

B-H: SDS Reelects Karadzic as Party Chairman

LD2906075696 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0130 GMT 29 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 29 Jun (SRNA)—The assembly of the Serb Democratic Party [SDS] reelected Dr. Radovan Karadzic the party chairman at its session this morning.

This decision, by which Karadzic has been entrusted with leading the SDS in the forthcoming four-year period, was supported by 353 votes of the assembly members, while one ballot paper was invalid.

Thanking the assembly members for their trust, Dr. Karadzic stressed that this represents support for the entire party leadership which "has achieved epoch-making results for the Serb Republic since 1991."

"This is an obligation not to make any more concessions, and I view this morning's vote as an endorsement of the right vision on the creation of a strong Serb Republic on our path toward final unification with other Serb countries," President Karadzic stressed.

At the session this morning, the assembly also endorsed the decision made by the party's main committee on the transformation of the SDS of the Serb Republic into the SDS of Serb Lands.

The assembly thereby endorsed the decision of the party's main committee on the acceptance of the convention and the statutary decision on the merger of the SDS of the Serb Republic, the Republic of Serb Krajina, Serbia, and Montenegro into the unified SDS of Serb Lands.

After proposals for members of the main committee, of the statutary commission, and of the supervisory committee were adopted, a half-hour break was announced by Dr. Karadzic.

B-H: Karadzic Appoints Members of Main Party Committee

LD3006105296 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0953 GMT 30 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 30 Jun (SRNA)—At the second session of the assembly of the Serb Democratic Party of the Serb Lands [SDSSZ; Bosnian Serb ruling party] held in Pale on 28 June, the main committee of the party for the [Bosnian] Serb Republic was elected. According to the party's constitution, the committee is made up of 85 members.

Two thirds, or 64 members of the committee, are elected by secret ballot; the remaining 21 members were nominated by Radovan Karadzic, the chairman of the party, and the assembly accepted their nomination.

The members of the main committee nominated by the president of the Serb Republic are: Biljana Plavsic, Momcilo Krajisnik, Aleksa Buha, Miroslav Toholj, Aleksa Milojevic, Dragan Kalinic, Velibor Ostojic, Vijoslav Maksimovic, Vojislav Mejakic, Pantelija Curguz, Zoran Vujanovic, Savo Knezevic, Radovan Markov Karadzic [as received], Rajko Dukic, Srdjo Srdic, Gojko Klickovic, Ljiljana Neskovic, Dijana Glogovac, Milivoje Komljenovic, Miroslav Vjestica, and Mirjana Kosarac. [passage omitted]

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B-H: Newly Elected SDS Main Committee Members Listed

LD2906203596 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1636 GMT 29 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 29 Jun (SRNA)—The assembly of the Serb Democratic Party of the Serb Lands (SDSSZ) this morning in Pale elected 64 members of the main committe of the party for the Bosnian Serb Republic.

The following are the newly elected main committee members: Boro Sendic, Vitomir Popovic, Dragoljub Mirjanic, Vlado Cetojevic, Momcilo Bulajic, Jovo Rosic, Aleksandar Bereta, Vlado Vrkes, Mile Grbic, Radomir Pasic, Dragan Savanovic, Ranko Milasin, Radoje Racanovic, Slobodan Bijelic, Milos Milincic, Nenad Krajisnik, Nedeljko Cekanovic, Djuradj Popovic, Milan Komnenovic, Stamenko Popovic, Luka Culic, Stevan Medic, Radivoj Duvnjak, Milan Ninkovic, Teso Ristic, Ignjo Jacimovic, Nade Planincevic, Sreten Blagojevic, Blagoje Simic, Radoslav Bogicevic, Petar Blagojevic, Mladen Bosic, Mirko Dragic, Djoja Arsenovic, Dragomir Kerovic, Miladin Stjepanovic, Cvijetin Nikic, Sveto Mihajlovic, Miroslav Deronjic, Jovan Mitrovic, Milenko Stanic, Zivojin Urosevic, Momcilo Vlacic, Jovo Ivanovic, Mirko Sarovic, Srdjan Knezevic, Milovan Bjelica, Momir Tosic, Velibor Veselinovic, Danilo Veselinovic, Jovan Tintor, Nedjeljko Prstojevic, Drago Gavrilovic, Rajko Kusic, Slobodan Sarenac, Miroslav Stanic, Dusko Kornjaca, Vukasin Mandic, Branko Simic, Jovo Maric, Djordje Batinic, Radovan Bratic, Milorad Vujovic, Bozidar Vucurevic.

The remaining members of the main committe [numbering in total 85 members] will be nominated by the party president Radovan Karadzic. [passage omitted]

B-H: BETA Reports Mladic Suffered Stroke

AU2806152695 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1116 GMT 28 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 28 Jun (BETA)—General Ratko Mladic, military commander of the Bosnian Serbs, has suffered a massive stoke [mozdani udar] and is in hospital, well-informed sources close to the Bosnian Serb authorities told BETA.

Mladic suffered a stroke last week and his life was in serious danger. Serb sources describe his current condition as better, but are not prepared to give any details.

The Belgrade magazine VREME today reported that Mladic is Military Hospital in Belgrade.

Serb sources could not confirm this, saying that, at the beginning of this week, security was suddenly been stepped up around the hospital in Koran near Pale and around the hospital in Sokolac.

B-H: VESTI Claims Mladic 'in Good Health'

AU0107093596 Bad Vilbel VESTI in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jun 96 p 4

[Unattributed report: "General Mladic Is Alive and in Good Health"]

[FBIS Translated Text] General Ratko Mladic, commander of the Army of the Serb Republic [RS], is alive and in good health and is at his workplace in Han Pijesak. A VESTI correspondent from the RS saw him the night before last at the celebration of St. Vitus Day, the day of the RS army.

Gen. Mladic did not want to comment on the speculation that he had suffered a stroke, which was reported by foreign news agencies.

B-H: Social Liberal Party President on Goals, Prospects

AU2406103196 Sarajevo DNEVNI AVAZ in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jun 96 p 7

[Interview with Miodrag Zivanovic, president of the Social Liberal Party of the Serbian Republic, by Adi Hadziarapovic; place and date not given: "Bosnia-Herzegovina Is Possible and Necessary"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Miodrag Zivanovic, who was before the war a professor at Banja Luka University and a member of the leadership of the Liberal Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina, became known in the war as one of the few opponents to the regime of the criminal Radovan Karadzic. Staying in Banja Luka throughout the aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina, Zivanovic formed the Liberal party of Banja Luka, which has grown into the Social Liberal Party of the Serbian Republic.

Regardless of his active political engagement in the Serb entity (which includes the initiating of the paper NOVI PRELOM), Zivanovic is one of the few Serb politicians, if not the only one, who publicly admit and recognize the fact that the state in which they live is called Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Hadziarapovic] What sort of program does the Social Liberal Party offer to the voters, and what results do you expect from the coming elections?

Help From Abroad

[Zivanovic] In the first place, we expect that we will have some influence in urban surroundings. We are about to finish an election document with the

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working title "Memorandum 96," which contains long-term guidelines for our action. The most important of these are reconstruction and development; around 20 projects, which have been made by our "Liberal Foundation for Reconstruction and Development," have already been forwarded to foreign investors. That is a patriotic task, since I and this party are here accused of being nonnational, because we want to open the economy toward the east, toward the west, and toward Sarajevo. Further, we wish to create mechanisms for personal safety and the safety of property, and for the protection of human rights and freedoms, and a stable social policy.

[Hadziarapovic] Your party is one of the few from the Serbian Republic that is helped by foreign foundations as well. Are the rumors that you have received large amounts of money and technical equipment for the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina true?

[Zivanovic] There is some truth in them. We have the moral and political support of the west, because our political program is interesting for their policy in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and since Dayton this party has shown its cooperativeness and readiness for synergy and for agreements. Maybe it sounds like utopia, but in this irrational situation it is not time for pragmatic solutions, because in that way we cannot solve anything with only one move, nor overnight. The political party has not received a single dollar or mark from the west, because they finance projects, and our magazine NOVI PRELOM only received several computers for technical preparation, and that is all.

[Hadziarapovic] Regardless of all that, the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina will take place for sure. What are the conditions for them like within the Serb entity?

[Zivanovic] Unfortunately, in the Serbian Republic the media are under the absolute control of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS], which is tragic. It is a problem here to install an independent television or radio station. When that happens, then we will be to some extent equal with the ruling party, and that is a minimum for the elections that we have to solve. Another problem that we cannot solve before the elections is the fact that the SDS is using every possible means to manipulate the electorate. There, in the first place, I have in mind the "fourth nation" in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and those are the refugees, who are most suitable for that, and that is done by all national parties. Further obstruction of Dayton are carried out, with dosed incidents. I often call these elections 'zero' elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina, because this is still an abnormal situation.

[Hadziarapovic] Which post will you candidate for in the coming elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Zivanovic] We have still not discussed that, neither within the party nor elsewhere. There have been some combinations and speculations, which is normal, that the candidates for the Serb representative in the future presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina should be Nikola Koljevic, Milorad Dodig, Zeljko Radisic, and some people mention my name as well. The opposition will have to agree on one man, supported by all parties, to oppose the SDS. So, as far as I am concerned, all options are still open.

The "Most Bosnian" Option

[Hadziarapovic] What is the key problem in the implementation of the Dayton agreement, and how do you evaluate the coming months in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Zivanovic] If the Serbs were finally to opt for Bosnia, the Dayton document would be implemented without any of the problems that Mr. Bildt now has. In that way we would overcome the hidden dilemma: Is Dayton the first or the last step for Bosnia-Herzegovina? If what I have just said came true, then that is the first step, and I have to stress that Serbs hold the key to Bosnia. As for prognoses, until now I have not guessed any of them, but I hope I will not be wrong about this one, because that would be too bad. The SDS will obstruct agreements in every way, and claim that Dayton is the end of Bosnia. The liberation of the media will contribute to the minimizing of propaganda, and to an increase of information. The elections in the Serbian Republic will not give an absolute winner, instead five to six parties will share the votes. I would like that to happen in the federation as well, because it would not be good if nationalist forces were to win in one entity, and democratic forces won in the other, because then it would be impossible to do anything for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Hadziarapovic] It is said of you and your party that you are "the most Bosnian" option in the Serbian Republic. Why?

[Zivanovic] I am convinced that, after everything that has happened, Bosnia-Herzegovina is possible and necessary. Of course, with a different organization from what it had before the war. The reintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina is possible and it is not important at all whether it will have two, three or five entities or cantons. The solution for the Serb people is not to unite with Serbia, and if that happens, then we here, in Banja Luka, will be a military border territory, as we have so often been in history, and we will be people without any future. We have to explain to the people that the future is in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

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[Box, p 7]

Fight for Banja Luka

[Hadziarapovic] The issue of the capital of the Serb entity has become a burning issue once again, only this time far from the eyes of the media. What is all that about?

[Zivanovic] In any case, Banja Luka should be the capital, because it possesses the urban infrastructure and the conditions for the functioning of all institutions. The problem of arbitration of Brcko would certainly be solved differently if Banja Luka were the capital, because Pale authorities even suggest that Brcko should be that. That is nonsense, in my judgment, because that area is under arbitration. As far as I know, the former prime minister Kasagic fought for Banja Luka "behind the scenes" [words indistinct].

B-H: Banja Luka Mayor on Elections, SDS Relations

AU3006211996 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22-23 Jun 96 p 9

[Interview with Banja Luka Mayor Predrag Radic by Milenko Maric; place and date not given: "We Will Live Alongside Each Other"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Maric] Mr. Radic, there has been a lot of speculation that you will run in the elections as an independent candidate. Now you are the leading man on the ballot of the Democratic Patriotic Bloc [DPB], which, according to some assessments, has little chance of success among the SPRS [Socialist Party of the Serb Republic] and the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party]. What made you decide to be on the democratic ballot?

[Radic] Mr. Karadzic often used to say that on the SDS main committee, of which I am still a member, there are forces of the center, and forces that lean toward the right and left. I must say that he has been tolerant toward all three groups, which I think is completely normal. I have always been leaned a little toward the left. He knew that and never held it against me until the people of the right began to prevail in the party. To quote our famous actor Ljuba Tadic: I am a Serb by birth, not by trade. I never thought of running for office, especially not as an independent candidate. In 1992, I was elected as a nonparty principle candidate for the SDS. Had they not proposed me, I would have remained outside all parties to this very day. They won with me in the elections, although we have had our differences over the last five years and six months regarding all the things that were happening around the Serb people in these parts.

[Maric] Who is in the coalition, and with whom will it have closer ties after the elections, regardless of its success or failure?

[Radic] We are going into free democratic elections. Who goes into the coalition with us will be decided by the coordinating body of the DPB, not by me. I only hope that we will have multiparty power structures and that a single party will not rule the Serb Republic. A single head has never been the wisest one.

[Maric] In Krajina, both the ruling party and the opposition holds you in great esteem, which is not true of the leaders in Pale. How do you explain that?

[Radic] When I start behaving otherwise, probably no one will respect me. I have still not managed to figure why, as you say, my own leadership, Pale, does not consider me worthy. I know it is true because I have felt it on my own skin. That is why you should ask them your question, and then let me know, too.

[Maric] Lately there has been much talk that you will be replaced in the same way Prime Minister Kasagic was ousted. Have you heard these rumors? What do you think of this as a professional and as a man, and, of course, as mayor of the largest Serb city west of the Drina River?

[Radic] I found out about my possible dismissal as mayor of Banja Luka on 28 May when I read it in the Belgrade press. I think it was your newspaper. I did not take it seriously, and I was wrong. On 30 May, at a session of the city council I was chairing, someone moved for a vote of no-confidence in me. As I said, I did not see anything wrong with that, just as long as it was in keeping with the Constitution and the city council's regulations. I do not think it would be proper, after five and a half years of working together, for us to part in such a way, under the "other business" of that day's agenda. Of course, I demand that they give me their arguments, and I want to tell them my own arguments, which they will find very unpleasant, particularly concerning apartments, private businesses, and many other "privileges" which they as SDS officials grabbed for themselves during the war. Mr. Karadzic had asked for a report on who had taken what during the war, and what the committee submitted was disgraceful. I did not want to send that to Mr. Karadzic, but I have kept that particular document.

As far as Mr. Kasagic is concerned, I have supported him out of principle. If the Serb Republic Assembly appointed him, let them discharge him, particularly since he was elected prime minister as a delegate of that Assembly, which he still is. Those who dismissed him were the ones who benefited from him most, particularly

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the officials and members of the SDS in Banja Luka. If you want to have (political) friends, don't owe anybody anything. That is something Kasagic did not know.

[Maric] How do you explain the frequent objections directed at the state leadership for pushing Banja Luka to the sidelines?

[Radic] I said what I had to say in public and explained it to a state committee that President Karadzic sent to investigate the veracity of my claims. That is the only committee, as far as I know, that completed its work and concluded that I had been right about everything I had criticized.

[Maric] The third attempt to transform Banja Luka into four municipalities so the urban areas would become a part of the city failed. Which forces in the municipal assembly undermined this highly justified transformation concept?

[Radic] It was not forces within the municipal assembly. They were simply manipulated, because the arguments in favor of that process were so strong that only instructions from a "higher level" could have influenced such a decision of the SDS delegates, who are citizens of this town. There is no other way I can explain this because President Karadzic had issued an order through Executive Board Chairman Nedeljko Cubrilovic and Deputy Chairman Sava Cuk to advise the Serb Republic Assembly to give Banja Luka the status of a city. Now, let others try and find out who chose to ignore that request, not me.

[Maric] What does the DPB, on whose ballot you are, have to offer the people?

[Radic] The DPB's program will be presented during the preelection campaign. It will be determined and then published as early as next week.

[Maric] There is a prevailing opinion among the people that the international community and its representatives on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina still consider Serbs "the bad guys," and their wartime foes, the Muslims and Croats, the "good guys." How do you account for this dogged insistence on double standards?

[Radic] Well, you know, we are not doing very much ourselves to improve that image. There is one difference between us Serbs and the Muslims and Croats: They agree to everything and implement nothing, whereas we reject everything but are then coerced into agreeing. Now the time has come for our Milos Obrenovic's and Nikola Pasic's—do everything for your people short of lowering your pants. We only need a little more wisdom.

[Maric] During the displacement of Prime Minister Kasagic, certain negative comments were heard that he was "strengthening Bosnia and weakening the Serb Republic." Is that true? How do you view prospects for creating a multiethnic community in Bosnia-Herzegovina after the demise of the former Yugoslavia?

[Radic] I would start with the end of your question. It is not the Serbs who reject a multiethnic community in Bosnia-Herzegovina but the Croats and Muslims. In fact, they are rejecting it before the eyes of the whole world, which has invested everything ino creating the Muslim-Croat Federation. If Mr. Kasagic was striving to strengthen Bosnia and weaken the Serb Republic—and this I do not know because I have no such information—then he was carrying out someone else's work for which he was not appointed prime minister. Quite simply, the problem of the Muslim-Croat Federation should have been left to the Muslims and the Croats and the promoters of the Federation, something in which no one believes in any longer, not even these two nations. I believe it is possible for the three nations to live side by side, as neighbors. As for whether there will ever come a time when we can live together again, after so much blood has been shed on all sides, I think we should leave that to another time and to some other people.

[Maric] How do you evaluate the crucial problem of the return of refugees to their ancestral homes?

[Radic] This is a highly complex problem. Recently, the mayors of the towns of (Croat) Drvar, (Muslim) Kljuc, and Sanski Most on the one side, and the Serb towns of Mrkonjic Grad, Prijedor, and Banja Luka on the other, got together with Mr. Steiner in Banja Luka. When the issue of repatriation came up, I did not need to say anything since we had around 85,000 Serb refugees in Banja Luka. The mayor of Drvar, a Croat from the town of Kakanj, said that he had nothing against the return of Serbs to Drvar (which, according to a census taken in 1991, is a 100-percent Serb town), as long as the Croats could return to Kakanj from where the Muslims had driven them. Therefore, we have the Serbs from Drvar, 7,000 Croats from Kakanj now living as refugees in Drvar, and the Muslims are in Kakanj, and nobody wants to take anybody back. I think this tells you what I think about the return of refugees to their homes. If 35,000 non-Serbs left Banja Luka (most of them left during the period from May to October 1995), and 85,000 Serbs came into Banja Luka, repatriation at this moment is physically impossible, because in a house where one family used to live we now have two or two and a half families. No one even mentions the Serbs from Mostar any more, as if they had never lived in Mostar, and I doubt that the Muslims or Croats in Mostar, as well as in Sarajevo for that matter, would welcome them as their neighbors any time soon.

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[Maric] What would you like to say in conclusion?

[Radic] A man told me that in a certain place in Belgrade, the Serbs from the Association of Serbs of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina had supported the news that I would be relieved of duty by the end of the week. I am surprised that the poet who wrote "Vunena Vremena" (himself a "big-shot" in that association) [reference to Gojko Djogo] did not raise his voice, because they had no arguments for such support—I am still the mayor of Banja Luka. O tempora! O mores!

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Croatia: Tudjman Reply to Clinton on Croat-Muslim Issues

LD2906150096 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 29 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] In response to a letter from U.S. President Clinton, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman stresses that as a party to the Washington and Dayton talks, the Republic of Croatia fully supports the implementation of the agreements, particularly the implementation of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the strengthening of federal institutions, as being in the mutual interest of both the Republic of Croatia and the West.

The Republic of Croatia will do everything to contribute to the implementation of the Dayton Agreement and other agreements reached in its wake for a permanent peace and stability in the region to be achieved.

The Dayton Agreement envisages the gradual disbanding of the Herzeg-Bosnia authorities alongside the establishment of federal and cantonal authorities. At the end of this process, the Herzeg-Bosnia institutions will be completely disbanded. With a view to providing stability and security for the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, it is important that the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina develop close relations with the Republic of Croatia, in accordance with the Washington Agreement.

We are firmly convinced that the upcoming elections in Mostar and the September elections in the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be a resolute step toward the implementation of the Dayton Agreement, and therefore we are doing everything in our power to create the security conditions for voting in democratic conditions.

Mr. President, we are confident that as a leading power in reaching peace agreements and in their implementation, the United States can use its influence again in the trilateral talks and through the Federation Forum in order to ensure an impartial approach to the implementation of the Washington and Dayton Agreements.

This is why the Republic of Croatia fully supports the requests of the Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina for a speedy passing of the federal defense law. The role of the United States as a key player is, again, of crucial importance because further concessions to the Bosniak [Muslim] side in this and other issues would certainly add to the frustrations of the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina and be counterproductive for the whole process.

I would like to use this opportunity, Mr. President, to express particular satisfaction with the continuous improvement in bilateral relations between the Republic of Croatia and the United States and, as you said, with the ever closer active cooperation. I am sure that the upcoming visit of [Commerce Secretary] Mickey Kantor, which is a continuation of the mission of the late [Commerce Secretary] Ronald Brown, will make an important contribution to the cooperation between our two countries. Croatia attaches great importance to the agreement on bilateral investments to be signed during the visit.

I would like to suggest that the equally important agreement on avoiding double taxation be signed on the same occasion. These two agreements will make possible a wider economic cooperation between our countries and strengthen bilateral relations.

Recalling with great pleasure your visit to Zagreb, I look forward to our next meeting and a fruitful exchange of views, the Croatian president's letter to U.S. President Bill Clinton says.

Croatia: Hague Official Denies Plan To Indict Tudjman

AU2806183996 Paris AFP in English 1821 GMT 28 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Hague, June 28 (AFP)—The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia denied Friday a Swedish report that it was poised to indict Croatian President Franjo Tudjman for war crimes.

The DAGENS NYHETER newspaper, quoting what it called a reliable source at The Hague-based court as saying that Tudjman would be indicted over atrocities committed when his army recaptured a rebel Serb-held region of Croatia last year.

In a terse statement, the court's prosecutor, Justice Richard Goldstone, denied the report.

"I feel it is necessary to state that any suggestion that such a decision has been taken by me is without any truth," he said.

"I regret that this newspaper chose to report an anonymous source without previous reference to me or anyone authorized to speak on my behalf," he added.

Earlier, a court spokesman refused to comment other than to say the report could not have originated at the tribunal.

The Croatian embassy in The Hague said it knew nothing about the report.

The newspaper said that along with Tudjman, the court would indict six Croatian generals. The charges would be brought in six to eight months, it added.

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Goldstone's denial covered the remarks about the generals as well as Tudjman.

The newspaper said that at the top of the list of suspects was General Ivan Cermak, who led the Croatian attack that retook the Krajina region from separatist Croatian Serbs in August.

It said the court had gathered testimony to the effect that atrocities were committed against Serbs in the offensive, which lasted just days.

Responsibility for these acts will be traced "as high as possible" so Tudjman and the commanders of the operation will be tried "as responsible for the decisions taken," the newspaper quoted its source as saying.

Croatia: Media Reports on Tudjman's Alleged Indictment Blasted

LD2906220096 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 29 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] On the basis of an article in an unnamed Swedish daily, the American TV station CNN yesterday broadcast the news that indictments against Franjo Tudjman, the president of the Republic of Croatia, and six Croatian Army generals are being prepared at the International War Crimes Tribunal in the Hague. Although Richard Goldstone, the chief prosecutor at the international tribunal, last night resolutely denied this possibility at the request of the Croatian media, the world media did not deny the report they had broadcast.

Not only did the world media fail to seek confirmation of the story from the Hague tribunal's relevant bodies, but also—in the spirit of the democratic tradition—they hurriedly revealed this unconfirmed report to their listeners and readers. The rare exceptions that still respect the [journalistic] profession asked for confirmation. The Hague tribunal issued a clear denial, but it is significant that, instead of making public the denial, the same media said that the news was not confirmed, thereby inviting further speculation.

What is all this about? In their attempts to divide the responsibility [for the war in the former Yugoslavia], certain international political players described the aggression against Croatia as a civil war and the liberation of the internationally recognized Croatian areas as a Croatian aggression against itself. When it condemned President Tudjman for liberating the parts of Croatia the international community itself had recognized, the international community went too far in its wish to push Croatia back into the Balkans. The fabricated accusation against President Tudjman was primarily meant to be an accusation against the Croatian people and their readiness to defend themselves from the aggression, which did not suit those same circles that are now inventing this accusation.

Of course, the Croatian state bodies immediately requested confirmation of the report aired by the world's independent journalists and—as expected—received a resolute denial. But, as on countless occasions in the past five years, we Croats are left with an unanswered question: What gives that same West the right to give lectures about democracy to us? Also, is the West by the same token accusing those who are no longer among us, and who made the greatest contribution to the creation of independent and sovereign Croatia?

Croatia: Border Dispute With Slovenia at Piran Bay Detailed

AU0107115996 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jun 96 p 3

[Article by Drazen Curic: "Piran Bay: Slovenian Arguments Weak"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "I have explained the problem of Piran Bay to President Clinton and U. S. Defense Minister William Perry, and they both understood it very well," Slovene Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek told journalists last year, implying that Piran Bay would belong to Slovenia in the final demarcation between Croatia and Slovenia. The Slovenes claim (and the government and opposition are unanimous) that the Republic of Slovenia needs the entire bay as its only direct access to international waters. In order for Slovenia to have direct passage to the open sea (and for Slovene ships not to have to pass through the Croatian or Italian territorial sea), Croatia would have to give up not only Piran Bay but also a part of its sovereignty over the sea north of Savudrija. Because that would involve a loss of about 10 square kilometers of our territorial sea, Croatia finds such an option unacceptable.

Judging from the letter of protest from the Slovene Foreign Affairs Ministry (on which the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry still has not commented) that was delivered two days ago [26 June] to Miljenko Zagar, Croatian ambassador to Slovenia, there will be further disagreements about Piran Bay. Slovenia has asked for "elucidation of the regulations on fishing in Croatian waters." The disputed regulations concern Piran Bay, which is divided in the middle—and the Slovenes just cannot seem to accept that.

The Principle of Equidistance

The problem about Piran arose when the former Yugoslavia dissolved and the independent states of Croatia and Slovenia were created. Although that is not the only

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disagreement between the states (remember Ljubljana Bank, building roads through Slovenia, and the border dispute at Sveta Gera), politicians and experts consider it to be the most difficult.

The border at Piran Bay was not defined in the former Yugoslavia. As Slovenia and Croatia are sovereign states now, the demarcation should be done according to the regulations of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea from 1982. That means that problems with sea borders, like the one we have, are usually solved by drawing an equidistant borderline.

According to the principle of equidistance, the borderline between Croatia and Slovenia is equidistant from the nearest points of solid ground of the two states in Piran Bay. If that line is followed consistently, Slovenia would be deprived of access to international waters, and the borderline in Piran Bay would be 2 kilometers away both from the Croatian and the Slovene coast. However, as Croatia and Italy have coasts more indented than Slovenia, the "Croatian and Italian borderlines would meet at one point on the sea."

That means that the Slovene territorial sea would be literally surrounded by Croatian and Italian sea, which would make the Slovene territorial waters (over which the Slovene state has full sovereignty) an isolated lake.

However, neither Croatia nor Italy is responsible for that—the geopolitical position of Slovenia is. In order to gain access to international waters Slovenia has "offered" Croatia a new demarcation line in Piran Bay, with a borderline only 287 meters—instead of 2 km—away from the Croatian coast.

However, even such a demarcation would not provide passage to the open sea for Slovenia. Croatia is supposed to yield in Piran Bay and give up another part of its territorial waters (its territory, in other words) near Savudrija. However, hardly any Croatian politician would be likely to take up such an offer, especially since Slovenia has offered nothing in compensation.

Why are the Slovenes so insistent on a direct approach to international waters despite their weak arguments? Slovenia already has access to international waters through Croatian territorial sea—provided that order and security in Croatia are not impaired by that. Even Slovene submarines are allowed to sail through Croatian territorial waters toward the open sea, but they have to stay on the surface during their passage, with their identification marks visible. Slovene fishing vessels must sail through Croatian territorial waters by the shortest possible route without stopping or anchoring (except in emergency) and without fishing—nets and other fishing equipment must be stored away. International regulations also guarantee unhindered passage for warships, although some states require preliminary announcement and permission. We must stress that these rules about the passage of ships are not a matter of Croatia's goodwill—they are guaranteed by international law.

The "Softening" Arguments

We can, of course, understand the Slovenes' worries because border service could complicate the passage of Slovene ships through Croatian territorial waters if they were tense relations between the states (for instance, by stopping the ships and forcing them to change their route on the grounds of suspected endangerment to the coastal guards). That is possible, but as long as Slovenia maintains normal relations with Croatia there is no reason for the Croatian side to make things difficult for Slovene sailors. If relations between the states became tense, why would Croatia deprive itself of a chance to return measure for measure?

We cannot count the times that Croatian passengers have been unnecesarily stopped at the border—not to mention how "nice" the Slovene police are. If Croatia carelessly gives up a position that could "soften" Slovenia, Slovenia could keep on playing the waiting game with the construction of the road between Zagreb and Ljubljana, as well as with paying out the old foreign currency savings of Croatian citizens from the Ljubljana Bank.

Naturally, under certain conditions Croatia could give Slovenia a narrow "corridor" (with terms precisely defined, of course) between the Croatian and Italian territorial waters. That would enable Slovenia to have their own access to international waters for a certain period of time. In return, Croatia might ask Slovenia to build roads that would connect Croatia with Austria—primarily between Zagreb and Ljubljana, and between Zagreb and Maribor. We could also negotiate a rapid road—that means without Slovenes checking on passengers—between Croatia and Italy, or Croatia and Austria.

Anyway, what Croatia must not do is accept the attempt of Slovenia to impose negotiations about giving our territory away as something natural and normal. Although we recognize and understand Slovenia's need to have its own access to international waters, it cannot achieve that at our expense. Therefore, the only just and acceptable solution for Croatia is the middle of Piran Bay.

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Croatia: Serb Signs Removed in UNTAES Area

LD2806172696 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 28 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] In the region under the transitional administration of UNTAES [UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia] the remaining Serb officers removed their military uniforms today. All the signs of their pseudostate were also removed from customs and police stations. All their command positions have been abolished and now the only authority in the region is UNTAES. This was reported to journalists at the government office for the transitional administration in Osijek. Zeljka Bacic reports:

[Begin recording] [Bacic] After the successful completion of the demilitarization of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem, there remains the task of clearing mines from those places designated for the first phase of the pilot project for the return [of refugees]. Major General Slavko Baric, the Croatian president's special envoy to the government office and head of the committee for military questions, said this at the news conference, adding that a section for mine clearance has also been set up at this office.

He will be going to Vukovar today and tomorrow to be briefed at the center for gathering information on mines organized by UNTAES on the positions of mines, on the basis of which a mine clearance plan is to be drawn up. From Monday [1 July] mine clearance experts are due to go to Lipovac and then to Nijemci, Ceric, Laslovo, and Korog, Maj. Gen. Baric said, and added:

[Baric] I stress once again that we have people trained and teams equipped to enter Djeletovci [oil fields] and we expect that they will get there today, tomorrow or the next day or at any rate as soon as possible; we must get to Djeletovci and begin the mine clearance.

[Bacic] Five teams of experts have been set up for mine clearance and provided with the latest equipment. Refugees will only be able to return when areas have been made completely safe and when the infrastructure for their return has been provided. [end recording]

Croatia: Support for Refugees' Demand for Return to East

LD3006185296 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 30 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Unless the Serb authorities in the remaining occupied areas [in east Croatia] are abolished by 15 July and unless Croatia deploys on the border with Serbia by 1 August, we will support Croatian refugees' demands to organize a peaceful return to the currently occupied areas. This was concluded at a session of the managing committee of the Association of Croatian Refugees held in Dabar. [passage omitted]

Croatia: Social Democratic Action Appoints New Chairman

LD2906194596 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 29 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Delegates at the second extraordinary assembly of the Social Democratic Action of Croatia [ASH] have elected Silvije Degen chairman of the party. Degen has been acting chairman since the death of Miko Tripalo. It was said that the assembly, as the widest gathering of party members, represented the consolidation of the party and gave an impetus to its development.

[Branko Nadjvinski] Expressing the will to cooperate with other democratic parties in Croatia, the ASH assembly also expressed the view that only firm cooperation between the democratic opposition parties gave Croatia a chance. The assembly did not exclude the possibility of entering coalitions before the elections in order to become a parliamentary party again.

The essential strategic goal of ASH is a unification, particularly the unification of leftist forces, Degen pointed out.

[Begin Degen recording] We are building the profile of our party, just like other parties do, on foundations of the European civic, social democracy—as a party of the civic left, which is not radical but is not afraid of radical assessments when the political circumstances require them. We have the best opportunity to become the first party of the modern left in Croatia. [passage omitted] [end recording]

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Poland: Paper Blasts Carter Administration, Clinton

WS2806095796 Warsaw GAZETA POLSKA in Polish 27 Jun 96 p 14

[Article by Jacek Kwiecinski: "Zbigniew Brzezinski's Jokes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Most of the commentaries published after the first round of presidential elections in Russia contain no substance. Instead of producing yet another one of this kind, we are publishing an article that can be viewed as a warning on the eve of the elections in the United States.

The weekly TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC published an amazingly grotesque text—a quasi-review of some book, translated from English, entitled *An Unknown Hero of the Cold War*. Jimmy Carter is supposed to be this hero, and the text itself was written by Zbigniew Brzezinski. The main point: Ronald Reagan just continued and expanded the anti-Soviet crusade conducted by its real hero, Jimmy Carter, based on his deep knowledge and resolve. The whole thing is outrageous because Brzezinski, in fact, praised himself as an active politician (rather than a panelist or political journalist).

This case also has a connection with the present because there are Carter people in President Clinton's administration. As they took office, both gentlemen were pitched as "centrist," new, resolute, and modern-thinking. Brzezinski supported Clinton, saying that the latter will restore America and strengthen its foreign policy. In NOWY SWIAT, I challenged that statement, and it is I, not Brzezinski, who proved to be right.

The point is that the left wing has long maintained a dominant position in the Democratic Party (this also applies to the attitude toward Moscow).

In 1976, the Democratic Party still had two factions, led by downright anticommunist Senator Jackson and ultraleftist McGovern. The "right-centrist" Carter was supposed to reconcile these two trends. That is why he surrounded himself with "McGovernists" in all of the key spheres. Zbigniew Brzezinski was, in fact, a fig leaf.

Without even winking an eye, he claims today that Carter "strengthened the U.S. defense system," even though, Brzezinski casually remarks, the "struggle for peace" and "nuclear disarmament" dominated his heart. The "heart" prevailed—this point of Brzezinski is just wonderful. Carter immediately suspended the production of the important strategic bomber, the B-1. Influenced by Soviet disinformation, he refused to deploy the so-called neutron bomb in Europe, which was the only chance to thwart the immense Soviet superiority in conventional weapons. He scoffed at the U.S. vulnerability in the sphere of defense systems and initial programs related to "Star Wars" (which later scared Moscow so much). He subordinated everything for the ratification of the SALT-II Treaty, which could only consolidate the Soviet superiority. He could not care less about increasing U.S. military strength.

Despite Carter's election campaign rhetoric, the central goal of his policies was to reduce the role of anticommunism and display goodwill toward the Soviets in order to stop the "arms race" through mutual understanding. Carter elicited "respect" on the part of the Third World countries by playing up to self-described "socialist" regimes and tried to show that the United States finally supported "changes" (progress). He improved relations with Cuba, Vietnam, and Angola, thus continuing America's self-flagellation routine. He pointed out the country's imaginary and real sins, saying that he himself could not be a role model for anyone. He even took special pride in America's helplessness and promised not to intervene anywhere. He enjoyed poking his finger at the limitations and weaknesses of the United States.

In addition to ultradove [Cyrus] Vance, Carter surrounded himself with people who were ideally suited to staying in a "defensive position" in the Cold War. The SALT Treaty was negotiated by P. Warnke, a supporter of American unilateral disarmament. Later, he surfaced as one of the chiefs of the infamous IPS (the Institute for Policy Studies). The organization received mixed opinions: Some considered it ultraleftist with a communist tinge; others thought it was simply a KGB-sponsored organization.

A Carter nominee, Admiral [Stansfield] Turner, was the worst CIA director. He recognized "technological" intelligence (satellites, etc.) solely, viewing the rest as "immoral activities." Andrew Young, for a change, was the most unusual in American history as U.S. representative to the United Nations. He focused there on launching attacks against...the United States, apologizing for the most barbaric of Third World tyrants, claiming that the Cuban troops in Angola "stabilized the situation" and calling Khomeini a "saint." He said that the 20-year imprisonment verdicts for dissidents in Moscow were trifles because there are "hundreds, if not thousands, of political prisoners in the United States." Ronald Reagan, who named Ms. Kirkpatrick as the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, indeed "continued Carter's policies...." M. Shulman, the most pro-Soviet Sovietologist in the United States, was a coordinator of Carter's policy regarding the Soviet Union.

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President Carter put the "human rights issue" on the agenda. This had a positive effect, giving inspiration to courageous people, including those living in Soviet labor camps. For several weeks, Carter aggressively pressed this issue also in relations with Moscow. This, however, could not last for long. The far-flung agency in charge of human rights (Patricia Derian had the rank of under secretary of state) offered positions only to employees of the above-mentioned IPS (including its head—herself), members of pro-Castro organizations, and the like. Their goal was to "rebuild the world" through overturning right-wing dictatorships, despots, and not-entirely-democratic—although anti-Soviet—governments (this is an opinion by a member of the Carter administration). In 1977, the policy of sharp criticism of the USSR was entirely reversed. At the same time, Carter declared that he was "deeply surprised by the Soviet reaction to the human rights issue." This proves that the education that Brzezinski provided to Carter was too superficial and that Carter was as valorous a "Cold War warrior" as a table leg. He succumbed to the Soviet backlash and moderated his position (an opinion by A. Schlesinger). Meanwhile, Patricia Derian said that the "struggle for peace has precedence over human rights."

And then it all started. Tyrant Mengistu, who started a war with Somalia, rampaged in Ethiopia. Uganda was rocked by the cannibal Amin. They were immune to any criticism, while communist Mozambique and Angola became "frontline freedom states" for the Carter administration. "Respecting human rights" in Africa was a requirement that applied exclusively to South Africa and Rhodesia. In addition to the Cuban regime, a communist regime exporting terrorism came to power in Nicaragua. Its representatives even thanked Carter informally but included in their national anthem that "the Yanks are enemies of mankind."

For two years, Carter kept silent about the genocide in Cambodia. Asked about this issue, Derian said she regretted this but added that the most bestial rightist junta was in El Salvador. Sanctions and restrictions were imposed on regimes pressured by communist guerrillas, while the "progressive" regimes remained exempt. Moreover, they received assistance, especially the African regimes. This is the kind of policy (noticed by everyone) into which the "human rights" crusade turned. Another U.S. ally, the Iranian shah, was overthrown, an event greatly facilitated by Brzezinski's pathetic moves.

Today, Brzezinski claims that Carter had a deep understanding of what communism and the anticommunist struggle was. He surely did. For example, he called Tito a hero in the human rights struggle. Ceausescu declared he was glad that they both expanded human rights and respected the same ideals. As for [former PRL, Polish People's Republic, leader] Gierek, Carter went even further, declaring that of all of the European states, the PRL had the biggest respect for human rights. (Later, they added in the official English-language text the word "some" [instead of "all"]—and it was not a translator's mistake).

Brzezinski maintains now that Carter launched an "ideological and anti-Soviet offensive." Meanwhile, he said in Warsaw that "ideological labels" had lost their meaning. He repeatedly emphasized that human rights (and his entire policies) had nothing to do with any ideology or preference for any system. "Human rights have no bearing on political systems," he stated in a wise anticommunist manner. "Let us not try to change the Soviet system." The counterposing of communism and democracy was as alien to him as totalitarianism versus autocracy. Shading the nature of totalitarianism, he always called small despotic regimes "totalitarian." Kirkpatrick even said that the administration made that division and staked on totalitarianism. (Dernian officially stated that communist terrorists are a better alternative to the governments they fight against). P. Thatcher [not further specified] only said that the administration lacked a "clear thinking" or any strategic vision. A consequence of Carter's policy was the lowest ever influence and prestige of America throughout the world and in all international organizations.

Political flip-flops, extreme naivete, permanent blunders, and arguments between Brzezinski and Vance caused an unprecedented lack of respect for the U.S. President on the part of both left and right European allies.

As a result, the power and influence of the USSR reached its peak. The number of red spots on the world map was growing, with the United States just staying passively aside. Also, so-called Third World leaders, instead of joining America in its "promotion of peace," preferred to spurn it and spit on it.

During the invasion of Afghanistan (December 1979), Carter's foreign and "human rights" policies were in shambles. Although Carter's reaction [to the invasion] was wonderful (the boycott of the Olympics, Brzezinski shown on television shaking fists on the Pakistani border), it took Reagan to provide the mujahedin with the "Stingers," which they badly needed. The elections were around the corner then, but it was already too late. The administration's image as being volatile, weak, and undermining America's power and morale had already been perpetuated. Notably, Carter's statement that "the invasion of Afghanistan told him more about the Soviets than everything he had known about them until then"

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confirms that his knowledge of communism was very meager.

The reaction to threats against Solidarity came after the elections were lost (December 1980). The present day, however, appears to be more important: Carter currently belongs to the ultraleft wing of the Democrats, which will probably win him the Nobel Prize and other honors.

In an attempt to revise history, Brzezinski does not explain why he had to employ in his National Security Council people connected with the IPS and, in one case, an individual suspected of having connections with Cuban intelligence. In his memoirs, he says that he wanted to "camouflage" his anticommunism. Against whom? The professed "Cold War hero"? Nor does he explain why, despite Carter's supposedly glorious anti-Soviet crusade, prominent Democrats from Senator Jackson's faction massively deserted to the Reagan camp before the 1980 elections, became "Reagan Democrats," and even occupied positions in the Reagan administration.

Brzezinski even dares to compare Carter to Truman. In Carter's place, Truman would not have set up NATO, stating instead that the United States did not want to serve for anyone as a role model and that one should support "changes" (for example, the communists' takeover of power in France and Italy). He would not have intervened in Korea, pointing to Seoul's insufficient respect for "human rights." In my humble opinion, Carter will never be recognized as a "Cold War hero."

Let me make three more points: Even today, Zbigniew Brzezinski uses the phrase the "dirty war in Vietnam," clearly identifying himself with this phrase. Second, my article fails to convey even one-tenth of [the examples of] idiocy, as well as the statements and actions that ran counter to the struggle against communism and the Soviet Union—a legacy left by the entirely inept administration of Jimmy Carter, who was a pupil of Zbigniew Brzezinski. Finally, my article is far from being just historical memoirs. It is connected with current events, which were mentioned in general terms, as well as U.S.-Russian relations, our efforts to join NATO, the world's future....

I want to persuade Polish Americans who care about their Homeland to vote AGAINST Bill Clinton, and Republicans, with no intention of erecting a triumphant monument to them, to vote against ANY Democrats.

Poland: Daily Reports on Possible Kwasniewski Visit to N.Y.

WS2806133696 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 Jun 96 p 1

[Report by Danuta Swiatek from New York and "EK": "A Quiet Visit Before the Visit"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Aleksander Kwasniewski will spend three days in New York before his official visit to Washington, which is scheduled for 8 July. Journalists in Poland have not been informed about the fact that the Polish president is planning to stop in New York City for a couple of days. The Congress of the American Polonia still does not know anything about its meeting with Kwasniewski, which is allegedly scheduled for 7 July.

President Aleksander Kwasniewski is to stay in New York City between 5 and 7 July, ZYCIE WARSZAWY has found out from well-informed sources. This short stay is to help the president get acclimatized before the official visit to Washington, which will take place between 8 and 10 July.

The Presidential Chancellery has not offered any confirmation to Polish journalists on the time frame of the president's New York trip; it did offer confirmation on the visit to Washington.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY has received confirmation from "reliable" sources that Kwasniewski is to meet with the Polonia in New York on the afternoon of 7 July. Neither the Congress of the American Polonia nor any Poles in the city know anything about this.

Some Poles in New York do not believe that the Polonia will meet with President Kwasniewski. After all, the New York Polonia voted for Lech Walesa in the presidential elections and is rather critical of Aleksander Kwasniewski. Asked whether they would agree to meet with President Kwasniewski, representatives of the Congress of American Polonia in Chicago and New York replied: "For the time being, we are waiting for an invitation; if we get it, then we will decide."

"The itinerary envisions one official meeting of the president with the American Polonia in Washington," Presidential Spokesman Antoni Styrczula told ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

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Poland: Cabinet Discusses 1997 Draft Budget

WS0107141096 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29-30 Jun 96 p 7

[Article by K. Grzeg.: "The 1997 Budget; Priorities Will Be Decided by the Coalition"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *Yesterday [28 June], the Council of Ministers held a preliminary discussion of the 1997 budget. Next week, the coalition will draw up a list of priorities for next year's expenditures.*

"Ministers submitted many remarks that concerned both the budget's receipts and the outlays," RZECZPOSPOLITA was told by Deputy Minister Grzegorz Rydlewski after the session. They also held a preliminary discussion of priorities. The biggest three or four priorities, such as expenditures on public security, education, agriculture, and, partially, housing, will be ultimately determined at the next session of the Council of Ministers, which is scheduled for 2 July. The final list of such priorities will be prepared by the governing coalition; it will be submitted to the Council of Ministers for discussion.

The Council of Ministers also agreed that the final decision on the main principles of next year's budget would require additional consultations between the various ministers and the finance minister. Next week several such meetings will be held; Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz has announced that he will attend them. [passage omitted]

The projected gross domestic product [GDP] is to reach 426.5 billion zlotys [Z]; the budget's receipts are to be Z115.5 billion and its outlays Z126.5 billion. This means that the deficit would amount to Z11 billion or 2.6 percent [of the GDP]. Exports are to go up by 14.5 percent and imports by 19 percent. Inflation-adjusted wages in state-run companies should go up by 2.8 percent, and in public-sector institutions by 3 percent. Tax rates for natural persons are to be reduced to 20, 31, and 43 percent from the current level of 21, 33, and 45 percent. At the same time, it is planned that some tax breaks will be annulled and that those that will not be annulled will be deducted from the tax rate and not from the tax base. Taxes paid by companies will be cut down from 40 percent to 38 percent. The Council of Ministers obliged the finance minister to prepare methods of increasing the budget's revenues.

Poland: SdRP Says SLD-PSL Coalition Will Survive

LD2906214396 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 29 Jun 96

[Relayed via Warsaw TV Polonia Network]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Supreme Council of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP] has come out in favor of continuing the Democratic Left Alliance-Polish Peasant Party [SLD-PSL] coalition. The council has also prepared a list of areas to which money should be allocated from next year's budget as a matter of priority. They are, among other things, public safety, education, culture, and the health service.

[Correspondent Magda Tadeusiak] The SdRP critically assessed the publicity around the tensions in the PSL-SLD coalition, particularly in connection with the matter involving Privatization Minister Wieslaw Kaczmarek. According to the SdRP leaders, it could have given the public a signal that the coalition's collapse was imminent. However, in their opinion, the existence of the coalition is not threatened.

[Begin Marek Borowski recording, deputy Sejm speaker] The PSL has its internal problems. It is quite visible. Many votes in parliament have given us this impression. However, it is not our aim to stir things up and to support certain people against others. Our aim is to work out a policy that would remove extreme ideas and allow the coalition to continue. [end recording]

[Begin Leszek Miller recording, head of the office of the Council of Ministers] All coalitions have better and worse days. They have days with fewer tensions and days with more tensions. However, in my opinion, there is no danger that the coalition will cease to exist before the next parliamentary elections. [end recording]

[Tadeusiak] The SdRP Supreme Council still believes that the parliamentary elections should be held in May rather than in the fall of next year.

[Begin Jozef Oleksy recording, SdRP chairman] Because our proposal was not received with understanding and was even misunderstood by some people, we will not insist on repeating it. However, we have not changed our position. [end recording]

[Tadeusiak] The SdRP leaders critically assessed the activity of the Movement for the Reconstruction of Poland and Solidarity. According to Oleksy, there is a growing atmosphere of intolerance in these parties. Unrealistic economic ideas are put forward, and honest people who have done a lot for Poland are being attacked in public.

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Poland: Oleksy Interviewed on SdRP Platform

WS2806130796 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 15-16 Jun 96 pp 1, 7

[Interview with Jozef Oleksy, chairman of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland, by Ewa Rossolak and Dariusz Szymczycha in Warsaw; date not given: "We Are Placing Our Bets on Democratic Personalism"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [TRYBUNA] After the 22 voivodship conventions of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland [SdRP] you took part in, can you say the SdRP is ceasing to be an electoral bloc and evolving into a party with a platform?

[Oleksy] Your question implies that we have not been implementing any platform thus far. This is not true. We want to launch a platform debate so as to develop a fixed party profile and inspire new practices. This does not mean we are critical of the practices that adduced to the image of an electoral, pragmatic party. New electoral victories, proven adroitness and efficiency, the ability to identify short- and long-term objectives—these are but a few of the lasting achievements of the party proving its prowess. Today, the SdRP is a fixed element of the Polish political scene, a party with huge social support. Its leftist identity should thus be more distinct, its platform understandable for the people.

[TRYBUNA] Why the need for a new approach toward the platform?

[Oleksy] In a democracy, each party reviews its programmatic assumptions from time to time. We want to adapt our platform to modern-day requirements, among others things, to formulate an attractive offer for the younger generations of Poles.

[TRYBUNA] Does the review imply the necessity of casting off romanticism and oppositional idealism?

[Oleksy] No. But, after the six difficult years of the party's existence, a new approach to the platform is absolutely necessary. We know we have passed the test of moving toward a democratic Poland. This [transition] phase had its impact on the party in 1990-93. We were forced to focus our attention on warding off attacks and accounting for our past. Over these past six years, we tried to prove our credibility within a democratic state. We elaborated a program for Poland to the best of our judgment and with social justice in mind at a time the state was undergoing a process of radical transformation of the system.

Governing undeniably has an influence on the identity of the party, its demeanor, and the prowess of its members. This also has to be reflected in the new platform. Party members and supporters have changed over the past six years. Those looking back into the past are becoming fewer. More and more young people are joining the SdRP—they never had anything to do with the Polish United Workers Party, they do not compare the past with the present, and they have reason to look toward the future with hope.

Finally, a party declaring it is open to Europe and willing to draw on the experience of European democracies can and should present Polish interests related to membership in the EU and NATO not by obstinately reinstating political declarations, but by showing citizens all of the opportunities and challenges. Not all are desirable. A responsible party should try to show what should be done to make the best of the chance Poland has been given and how to prepare to meet challenges and threats head on.

[TRYBUNA] We understand that the basic reason the SdRP was forced to review its platform are the three years in the coalition government, the concessions made to the Polish Peasant Party, and the changes on the political scene.

[Oleksy] That is part of it. The coalition government is a contract signed by two independent players on the political scene that have similar objectives, albeit achieved by different methods, and that have different electorates. The period the SdRP has spent in the government with the entire Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] provided many observations that should help formulate the basic assumptions of the platform so as to render it more pragmatic and addressed to people's expectations.

[TRYBUNA] Your vision of the party platform sounds like a dream. Although the SLD continues to lead in popularity polls, the party is ever more often considered "bland." The SdRP does not avoid making concessions, it approves of developing the market economy, wants a lawful democratic state, advocates civilian and democratic control over the Armed Forces and the secret services, and wants good relations between the state and the church. It is a staunch supporter of the euro-atlantic priorities of the state's foreign policy. Any party could subscribe to that.

[Oleksy] Surely. After all, the problems our country is facing and the scope of necessary reforms are clear, and no party has a monopoly on that. The questions of how much leftism we should have, or how much liberalism we have are an altogether different issue. We will not argue with the Freedom Union [UW] over who is more liberal, just as we will not argue with the Union of Labor over which party is more leftist.

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Our formula for the transition period of economic transformation could be summed up thus: as much liberalism as needed and as much interventionism as needed. As for the "blandness" of the party, there is also the problem of how effectively and when we should react to certain facts, and how our leftist sensitivity to social issues is to manifest itself.

[TRYBUNA] What, then, is the distinctive feature that sets the SdRP apart from other parties? Is it only the criticism of the Concordat and approval of abortion?

[Oleksy] Wherever controversial social issues arise, leftists defend women's right to abortion, support a secular state, and oppose clericalism. The platform of a leftist party cannot fail to mention social justice, understood as an equality of opportunities and equal access to material and nonmaterial goods...

[TRYBUNA] What new "fields of justice" [pola sprawiedliwosci] has the SdRP created? Do they outnumber the ones the party had to surrender?

[Oleksy] A recapitulation of the years in power will reflect the left's doubts concerning the platform after the years in the coalition government. We will want to point out all of the problem areas in the social life of Poland. I can already say that we did not show enough interest in the emerging trends of the model of consumerism in Poland. We did not analyze the stratification of Polish society deeply enough. We do not have ready answers to a number of questions on poverty.

[TRYBUNA] What specifically should you do in the field of social issues?

[Oleksy] The scope and aptitude of the state's social policy are defined by the condition and efficiency of the economy. The left must guarantee, for example, that incomes are not valorized from year to year. It also has to see to it that the lowest pensions are raised and take care of the minimum guaranteed incomes.

[TRYBUNA] Friedman, one of the greatest liberals, supported this.

[Oleksy] Indeed. There are regions even in highly developed countries that will always remain poor and where unemployment cannot be eliminated. Neither regional policies nor tax relief nor an unemployment benefit system can change that.

[TRYBUNA] You are convinced that only the SdRP and the SLD have a comprehensive program for Poland both for today and in the strategic horizon [as published]. Yet, having your own program is not enough... Others do not necessarily have to think like you!

[Oleksy] We want a debate. We want to discuss the specific points of our platform. Unfortunately, there are no decent, deep discussions in Poland. Political primitivism has set in. The lack of platforms is starkly visible on the political scene. The left has a program for Poland—for Polish citizens. It is aware that, for the time being, we must make do with what we have... We will also welcome a discussion about our program with those who have their own political platforms, even though they are our political adversaries.

[TRYBUNA] Today there is still more disappointment than satisfaction...

[Oleksy] I do not agree with that. If anyone feels disappointed because his aspirations have not been satisfied and is embittered with the government, he should imagine how workers, the poor, the lonely, and leftists would be treated if rightists regained power in Poland.

[TRYBUNA] Does that mean the SdRP is satisfied with the pace of reforms?

[Oleksy] We are not fully satisfied with the pace, especially in the fields of state decentralization and administrative reform. The reform of the health-care system is slow. The impasse might endanger the social security reform. There are still no laws on privatization, compensation and pension funds, or closed and open trust funds. We are not adequately prepared to develop the insurance and banking sectors. I am personally disturbed by the lack of progress in the debate and development of a concept for restructuring Polish agriculture.

[TRYBUNA] Having that knowledge, you must be aware that a new program will not suffice in the nearest elections, that you will have to account for earlier promises.

[Oleksy] I know that arguing that we fulfilled those promises will not suffice. We have to submit an honest and thorough report on the period we were in power and the effects. This is a task for the whole coalition. We expect that the opposition will denounce any positive results of the current term that we might specify. I am not worried, however, about the general overtone of that report. The overall balance for Poland is good.

[TRYBUNA] In an attempt to polish your image, you decided to place your bets on a social democratic offer for the individual?

[Oleksy] The effort of trying to break through toward a democratic Poland and staggering under the weight of historical accusations caused the SdRP to struggle to survive and attract supporters in the first years of its existence. In the next stage, it strived to polish its image and denounce the lies and false accusations. Then came the coalition government. Being responsible, we

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sought macrostrategic solutions. Now the time has come to develop a coherent party image and platform.

It is true we want to change direction. From macrostrategy (we already have the Strategy for Poland, Package 2000, the Poland 2010 project) it is high time to address the individual, the most important target of any party activity.

[TRYBUNA] What does that mean? Democratic personalism?

[Oleksy] Yes. We will come forth with suggestions not for "society at large" but for the Polish family, the single mother, the victimized child, the handicapped, the lonely man who needs help or advice, and so forth. We have to show people how we are practically applying the criterion of justice in such areas as taxes, tax reliefs, and credit preferences. Slogans about justice do not convince anyone anymore. That is why the SdRP wants to speak about justice in specific terms of individuals, groups, and processes taking place in our country.

[TRYBUNA] The independent right has assumed a monopoly on patriotic symbols. Today, the left is looking on from the sidelines and behaving as if it is afraid to express its feelings. Is this wise?

[Oleksy] We love our motherland no less than others. We have a full right to this. We all know that Poles want to see the patriotic continuity of their fates. I am sure that sooner or later the SdRP will return to prewar socialist traditions, to the leftist school of thought of Polish patriots. Polish social democrats do not fully recognize their achievements. We want to draw on the richness of patriotic thought, to treat it as a basis for constructive debates. We find Poland's past and the richness of its traditions no less attractive than other groups.

[TRYBUNA] Is the ambiguous attitude of the SdRP toward the church not a setback?

[Oleksy] In the postcommunist period, we did not take much trouble to differentiate between what was deemed as our doctrinal antireligiousness, an unsubstantiated hostility towards the church, and what is the true platform of the left. That platform stipulates the need for a secular state and state institutions. We want to separate the state and the church, but we do believe that the church should be treated with due respect. We want good relations between the state and the church. The left respects religion as an important element of each citizen's spiritual life. It must agree with those who demand the freedom to practice any religion. This does not change the fact, however, that the left continues to defend the secularism of the state.

[TRYBUNA] You own up to your mistakes, you apologize for your sins and those of others and...remain alienated.

[Oleksy] We are not alienated by our voters. Strong and stable social support is what counts most. Moreover, we continually win new social groups over to our side.

[TRYBUNA] Are you talking about rural communities?

[Oleksy] Not only. Also the cooperative movement. We do not hide the fact that the Polish rural areas, the provincial areas—in the civilizational meaning of the word—are a natural topic of interest for the left. Our program for the country, not only for big cities, is to enhance closer ties.

[TRYBUNA] What can you say about the hostility the Freedom Union is exhibiting toward you?

[Oleksy] I keep hearing opinions that the political aggressiveness of the UW is causing the party to become patronizing and pushing it toward rightist extremes. I did not want to believe that at first, but the thought keeps recurring. One example is the scurrying of Senator Kozlowski, whose unfulfilled life ambitions have caused him to become overzealous, which in turn bares his incompetence...

[TRYBUNA] You are criticizing the pet politicians of the media...

[Oleksy] We all know who some of the media are controlled by. Well-known opposition politicians want to be prophets and sometimes cross the limits of decency. They want to tell people how to think, regardless of what competent state organs and procedures say. Unfortunately, they are sometimes successful. [passage omitted]

Poland: Olszewski Criticized for Insulting Romanies

LD2906023996 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1809 GMT 28 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 28 Jun—On the 28th of this month, the Government Information Center conveyed to PAP the following statement:

"The widely publicized statement by J[illegible]szewski, former prime minister and current ch[illegible] of the Movement for the Reconstruction of Pola[illegible]P], who in describing the draft of the new constitution of the Polish Republic offended the national minority of Polish Romanies, represents an explicit example of xenophobia and chauvinism. I am not surprised by the firm protest against this by the Association of Polish Romanies. A fundamental principle of democracy is respect for the rights of national minorities, and this principle is

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observed in its basic laws by every civilized European society. Jan Olszewski's statement is completely at variance with these principles.

"The Romanies, who have lived in Poland for several centuries and who perceive themselves as Poles, are sensitive to all forms of humiliation and discrimination. For many years they had been exposed to persecution and repression, while the Nazi criminals included them in a planned system of genocide in concentration and extermination camps alongside the Jewish people.

"The air of contempt for national minorities and, in addition to this, allusions about their being physically and mentally handicapped, as well as a lack of tolerance toward any dissimilarities, which are guaranteed in the draft of the new constitution, fits within the political trend of extreme nationalism, which for some time now has been getting more clearly visible among the ROP leaders.

"However, such statements have nothing in common with the position of the prime minister and the government regarding this issue. I would like to assure the public and the Association of Romanies in Poland with the utmost conviction that national minorities can count on full support and protection from the government I lead. Any manifestations of discrimination or persecution for national, racial, or religious reasons are contrary to the law and shall not be tolerated."

Poland: SLD: Constitution Should Precede Concordat

LD2806145496 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1133 GMT 28 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 28 Jun—The Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] still maintains that the Concordat's ratification should be preceded by the adoption of a new constitution, SLD leaders told journalists at the Sejm today.

A statement adopted today by the SLD parliamentary floor group says that the "ratification of the Concordat before the adoption of the new constitution would deprive the whole society, including its representatives in the National Assembly, of its right to decide the final form of the constitution."

The SLD criticizes the "unclear clauses concerning financial privileges of the Roman Catholic Church and the removal of parliament's sovereignty in setting tax levels and granting tax allowances, as well as other unclear provisions that could violate the principle of the state's philosophical neutrality and that of citizens' equality regardless of their religious beliefs."

According to the SLD, the Concordat creates differences in the rights of the Catholic Church and other churches and religious associations. The alliance believes that these issues should be "renegotiated or at least properly interpreted in a joint declaration by the government and the Holy See."

The SLD thinks that the contradictions between the Concordat and the currently binding constitution, which establishes the separation of the church and the state, are the fundamental obstacles in the ratification process.

Speaking about the need to renegotiate the agreements and declarations connected with the Concordat, the deputy leaders of the SLD parliamentary floor group, Izabella Sierakowska and Longin Pastusiak, referred to a similar procedure in Italy. They think it is possible for the government to make a request for renegotiation. Deputy Sierakowska said that this position by the SLD was the best thing for the Polish Republic.

"The opposition to the Concordat and the attitude toward it do not ensue from a division into believers and nonbelievers but, rather, from the need to find the answer to the question: To what extent does this Concordat secure the fundamental citizens' rights and liberties and to what extent does it serve the interests of the Polish Republic," Pastusiak said, explaining the SLD position.

Poland: Media on Rising Crime Rate, Police Shortage

96P20447A

[FBIS Report] Postcommunist Poland has experienced a sharp increase in crime, according to media reports, which also indicate that existing law enforcement resources are inadequate to cope with the problem.

—In Poland, the number of reported crimes jumped from 547,589 in 1989 to 883,346 a year later, a 61-percent increase, according to the Warsaw daily RZECZPOSPOLITA, and the rate surged to 974,941 total offenses in 1995, including 835,681 felonies. The crime rate may be reaching a plateau in 1996, the paper wrote, since in 1996 "crime has reached a level similar" to that of in 1995. (RZECZPOSPOLITA, 15 May)

—Reports reveal a rise in a variety of types of crimes—car theft, bomb attacks, armed assaults, drug trafficking, money laundering and business crime such as counterfeits forgeries, extortion—and indicate that many of these are committed by organized crime. The police are unprepared to fight organized crime and are often accused of corruption resulting in low public trust. (GAZETA WYBORCZA, 22 December 95, CBOS Opinion Poll, May 1996)

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Organized Crime

Polish police estimate the country has 300 organized criminal groups comprising 4,000 people operating mainly in the large cities. The daily SZTANDAR reported on 27 May that organized criminal groups traffick in "anything that turns a profit." The favored business areas of organized crime in Poland include:

—Auto theft and the fencing of stolen autos in the domestic and former-Soviet markets,

—Smuggling of computer hardware and other electronic appliances,

—Drug trafficking,

—Procurement of women from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union for prostitution in the west,

—Forgery and extortion.

According to SZTANDAR, Poland's native gangsters are expanding their use of legitimate businesses as fronts for laundering dirty money earned from criminal activities. Until recently, money laundering was largely a specialty of foreign criminals, chiefly from the former USSR and Asia, who sought ways to smuggle earnings out of Poland without paying taxes. Polish gang links with organized crime in the East and West mainly involve drug smuggling, stolen cars, and—increasingly—procurement of women for prostitution. Reported cases of organized prostitution, the SZTANDAR report continues, have risen 20-fold in the last six years. Last year alone, Polish police registered 500,000 cases in which mobsters transported or attempted to transport women to Western Europe for purposes of prostitution.

Narcotics

Poland's involvement in international narcotics trafficking is confined largely to its role as a transit point for East-to-West shipments of illegal drugs, chiefly cocaine and heroin. Since the outbreak of war in the Balkans, most heroin transits Poland from the Middle East.

Statistics on drug seizures reflect the rise in trafficking. For example, according to a 27 May report in the daily TRYBUNA, seizures of illegal drugs by customs police reached record levels in 1995. This year, the National Customs Office reported "a total of 52 cases have been opened on narcotics smuggling charges" twice as many as last year. Almost half of the cases involved a total of 263.5 kilograms of smuggled cocaine. Yet, marijuana broke all the records— 2,086.5 kilograms were seized in 10 batches. Authorities also confiscated four heroin shipments totaling 16,654 kilograms and another four shipments of amphetamines totaling 10,229 kilograms. Poland also ranks as one of Northern Europe's leading producers of illicit drugs. In 1995, for example, police raided eight illegal amphetamine labs, and domestic production of heroin products (various recipes for "stewed fruit") from local poppy fields has remained fairly steady over the past decade.

Illegal drug use is also a problem inside Poland, especially among young people. Marek Kotanski, Poland's leading national expert on drug abuse rehabilitation, believes that, after leveling off a few years ago, drug use is on the rise again. He estimates there are about 200,000 young addicts in Poland today. Most of them are using amphetamines or experimenting with psychotropics such as LSD. (PRAWO I ZYCIE, 20 April)

Fighting Crime

In the years since 1989, the Polish government has explored various ways of mobilizing internal law enforcement and harnessing international assistance to fight organized crime, according to press reports.

—In early 1994, the Internal Affairs Ministry created a special "Bureau for Combating Organized Crime" reporting directly to National Police Headquarters. The new bureau consisted of three divisions at the national level and 12 regional offices around the country. The government pumped extra money ("billions of zlotys") into this "elite" unit and gave it wider latitude in running its investigative and "sting" operations independently of the provincial police bureaucracy. (NIE, 20 June)

—In May of this year, Prime Minister Cimoszewicz and Internal Affairs Minister Siemiatkowski issued orders to reorganize the organized crime-fighting effort, an initiative which has since run into trouble. They created a smaller oversight office at the national level—a special commissioner for fighting organized crime who reports directly to the prime minister. At the local level, they wanted to resubordinate the detached "elite" units to provincial police headquarters. In the face of mounting criticism, National Police Chief Jerzy Stanczyk has defended the reshuffling of organized crime-fighting on cost-cutting grounds—officers on the national police payroll are higher paid—and as a gesture in support of bureaucratic streamlining. Siemiatkowski had appointed Colonel Slawomir Petelicki to serve as the new mafia-busting czar. Petelicki is widely known in Poland for having founded and led the country's first antiterrorist commando unit of the postcommunist era (GROM). However, Petelicki resigned from his post as special commissioner on 12 June over "bureaucratic obstacles" and lack of cooperation from secretary of state Grzegorz Rydlewski, who "did not define" Petelicki's official status and was "torpedoing his activities" from the outset. Before leaving, Petelicki opened contacts with "repre-

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sentatives of several Embassies" and initiated cooperation in fighting foreign criminal groups, including "triads from Hong Kong and the Cali cartel," which is already operating in Poland. (WIADOMOSCI TV POLONIA, 12 June, RZECZPOSPOLITA, 21 June)

—Poland also looks to various forms of bilateral and multilateral cooperation as a way to marshal foreign technical assistance for local crime fighting efforts. For example, in July, Poland and the U.S. are expected to announce the establishment of a "bilateral commission for fighting organized crime" that would oversee cooperation between Polish and U.S. authorities working on customs, tax, and, secret service cases. The Poles have also asked for U.S. help in setting up organize crime-fighting training programs for Polish police. Meanwhile, this fall Poland reportedly will host a UN-sponsored conference on law enforcement efforts to control international auto theft and smuggling. (GAZETA WYBORCZA, 20 June)

Police Facing New Challenges

Interviewed for the 2 June edition of the weekly WARSAW VOICE, National Police Chief Stanczyk said that, "the police are going through the most difficult stage in their history." The main problem, Stanczyk contended, is that the rising crime rate has swamped the undermanned police force. In the 1970's and 1980's, there were 120,000 police officers, while 500,000 crimes were committed yearly. Today, the country has 100,000 police officers, while the crime rate has doubled. Moreover, "nearly half of all officers have been in service for less than six years, many have minimal vocational training." They are, said Stanczyk, simply "underqualified," and the equipment they use is substandard.

Nevertheless, Stanczyk believes the police have a lot to be proud of despite these problems. For example, the force solved 90 percent of last year's 1,130 homicides and half of all armed assault cases. Bomb attacks (117 cases last year) represent a new kind of crime posing many new challenges to which the police are responding with new training and prevention programs. Citing another success story, Stanczyk mentioned the seizure of 13 banknote counterfeiting operations last year.

While the number of officers engaging in actual lawbreaking is merely "a fraction of the total police force," according to Stanczyk, instances of bribetaking, police brutality, and unauthorized disclosures of secret operations damage the reputation of the police and undermine public confidence in law enforcement. Stanczyk stressed that "we police need to purge our own ranks" in order to prove that "we are trustworthy and intolerant of crime in our own ranks."

Public Opinion on Crime

In May 1996, Poland's Public Opinion Research Center (CBOS) published a study analyzing perceptions of public safety. The study found that a majority of respondents to its survey viewed Poland in general as a place "where life is not safe," even though most respondents felt "safe" in their own homes. A third of the respondents said they avoid staying out late at night because they fear being robbed and mugged. One in six reported that they themselves or a family member had been a crime victim in the past year. Compared to the findings of a 1989 poll, the 1996 study showed that number of respondents agreeing that Poland is a safe place to live had fallen from 96 percent to 21 percent. The research confirms that urban residents and the elderly feel most threatened by crime.

The CBOS study draws the conclusion that the crime wave accompanying Poland's political and economic transformation displays some completely new features. Compared to the past, many crimes are now more brutal and more serious, often involving the use of firearms and a rise in the percentage of youthful offenders. Conversely, the newly free media keep the public much better informed about crime than in the past. As a result, people are worrying more about violent crime than they do about poverty or ill health.

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Romania: SRI Head Addresses Parliament on Wiretapping Scandal

AU2906205996 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 20 Jun 96 p 1

[Report by MEDIAFAX: "C.V. Tudor Patronizes an Illegal Paramilitary Organization"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On Wednesday at a joint session of the two chambers of Parliament, SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service] Director Virgil Magureanu accused PRM [Greater Romania Party] President Corneliu Vadim Tudor of patronizing an illegal intelligence body of a paramilitary nature, the goal of which is to discredit the de jure state. Virgil Magureanu appeared in Parliament to explain the press scandals that affected the institution under his leadership; that is, the publication of Magureanu's own file on his past as a Securitate informer, the accusations by SRI Captain Bucur regarding the illegal wiretapping of telephone conversations, as well as other political police activities carried out by the SRI, as claimed especially by PRM leader Corneliu Vadim Tudor. The Parliament met at the behest of Virgil Magureanu, who sent a letter to Chamber of Deputies President Adrian Nastase asking to be heard directly in Parliament in connection with the recently emerged problems.

In his speech to Parliament, Magureanu asserted that the scandal generated by the Constantin Bucur case represents the most serious action ever undertaken by the paramilitary body patronized by C.V. Tudor. In the SRI director's opinion, the aforementioned body took advantage of the fact that Captain Bucur was in charge of wiretapping telephone conversations, albeit legally authorized, and managed to make the captain, who has since been sent to the reserves, steal several recorded cassettes and use them against the institution for which he was working. Magureanu asserted that "Bucur was forced to betray" and that C.V. Tudor's intelligence body needed this scandal to justify the accusations they voiced previously against the SRI. The SRI director said Bucur had been lured to C.V. Tudor's intelligence body with the mediation of Ilie Merce and Toma Nastase, both of whom are former SRI officers and are currently in the reserves. "Ilie Merce, an agent serving C.V. Tudor, turned to good account his intelligence experience for the benefit of the senator [C.V. Tudor], and since 1995 the prosecuting magistracy has been investigating his case, as he has leaked secrets," asserted Magureanu. The SRI director summarized the scandal generated by Captain Bucur's cassettes as "brutal and unconstitutional political interference with the activity of the SRI."

Romania: PRC President Arrives for Official Visit

AU2906163496 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1600 GMT 29 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] PRC President Jiang Zemin arrived a short while ago in Bucharest. His four-day official visit to the Romanian capital city, on the invitation of Romanian President Ion Iliescu, is a stopover on his European and Central Asian sojourn. The agenda includes talks between the two heads of state, as well as meetings with the Romanian prime minister and the presidents of the two chambers of Parliament.

At the conclusion of the official talks, they are expected to sign a joint declaration, as well as other documents on cooperation between the two countries.

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Slovenia: Ministry Rejects REUTER Report on Police Brutality

AU2806153296 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 28 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Following today's State Chamber session, Interior Minister Andrej Ster and State Secretary Slavko Debelak commented on the REUTER report that the Slovene police are brutal. A journalist of this British agency reportedly concluded this after reading a report by the European Commission for the Prevention of Torture and Inhumane or Humiliating Treatment and Punishment. Robert Skerjanc reports:

[Begin recording] Acoording to the Interior Ministry, the report by the REUTER journalist was false, that is, the journalists incorrectly took certain assumptions contained in the report out of context. The report by the European Commision for the Prevention of Torture and Inhumane or Humiliating Treatment and Punishment, which is active with the Council of Europe, concludes in the first paragraph of its report that it did not note any cases of deliberate violations and torture in Slovenia. They examined about 300 cases and only discovered 28 supposed violations here, of which, it was suspected that policemen tortured or beat up prisoners in the course of arrest in only two cases.

The Interior Ministry was further surprised by the REUTER report because the commission praised the Slovene police and its behavior during arrests. They are, of course, aware of irregularities. For example, the commission's report refers to irregularities regarding detention cells. According to Minister Ster, many of these cells have already been refurbished, and they have already informed the European Commission about it.

That the report by the REUTER journalist was unprofessional is proven by a letter by the chief of the Council of Europe press section, Jack Harring, who appologized to the Slovene authorities for the incident and assured that the REUTER report was the sole responsibilty of the agency and in no way reflected the views of the Council of Europe. [end recording]

Slovenia: Thaler, Polish FM View 'Very Good' Relations

AU2806164996 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 28 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Polish Foreign Minister Dariusz Rosati and his host, acting Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler, discussed some aspects of bilateral relations and exchanged views on the situation in Europe in Ljubljana today. The Polish diplomat was received by President Milan Kucan and Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek. Relations between Slovenia and Poland were judged to be excellent in the political and economic spheres. They also agreed to strengthen cooperation in Slovenia's and Poland's rapprochement with the European Union and the NATO pact. After the talks Ministers Rosati and Thaler commented on the contents of the talks at a news conference. Tomaz Gerden reports:

[Begin recording] [Gerden] Today, Slovenia and Poland signed an agreement on the promotion and protection of investments and the avoidance of double taxation. [Words indistinct] will also sign the agreement on road communications today. Both ministers assessed Polish-Slovene relations as being very good.

Polish Foreign Minister Rosati believes that Slovenia is Poland's strategic partner in this part of the world. The bilateral cooperation of the two countries, especially in the economic realm within the Central European Free Trade Agreement, has good prospects. He particularly singled out cooperation on Koper Harbor, which he visited yesterday.

He and Thaler also discussed the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where Polish soldiers are present as part of the Implementation Force.

Acting Foreign Minister Thaler said the following about the visit:

[Thaler] Our talks with the minister showed that in both countries there is outstanding interest in the best possible relations and the best possible cooperation. We concluded that [words indistinct] strategic partner, and I am very satisfied that the minister visited at a time when Slovenia has consolidated its position in the European structures greatly by signing the EU association agreement.

[Gerden] The Polish and Slovene sides also discussed security and defense issues and the European integrations. Polish President Kwasniewski will pay an official visit to our country in two months' time. [end recording]

Slovenia: Author of 'Kucan's Clan' Interviewed

AU2806115596 Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovene 18 Jun 96 pp 20-23

[Interview with Danilo Slivnik, chief editor of MAG and formerly deputy chief editor of DELO, by Bernard Nezmah on the occasion of the release of his book, *Kucan's Clan*; place and date not given: "All the President's Men"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Nezmah] When was the first time you noticed [Slovene President Milan] Kucan's clan?

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[Slivnik] It is difficult to say exactly when I noticed such a thing as a clan. I noticed it at the end of the eighties, in 1989, 1990.

[Nezmah] How did it affect you?

[Slivnik] It did not in any special way, but I had the opportunity to experience it more or less from a close distance and to observe it.

[Nezmah] How does the Kucan clan function? From a distance the average person sees only a good-natured man with gray hair.

[Slivnik] This is connected with life in the old system. Many phenomena are very blurred in the transitional period. One has difficulty noticing certain things without previous experience. Six years have passed since the change, and you already have a large number of people who have forgotten how it was before. This does not mean that these people are politically not aware, but that they have even previously not experienced the authenticity of the system.

We all learned about Marxism and self-management, some of the things had therefore seemed obvious to us. Only at a distance could you see that someone was, after all, organizing them. Not some formal Central Committee [of the League of Communists], which had met once a month, where people would blindly lift their hands. The decisions were made elsewhere. If you had the opportunity to see this from up close, you could see other, more subtle forms.

Let me mention, as an example, one such informal meeting with Vida Tomsic, who was hitting the table with her fist, so that the great chief of police crept under the table with fear, while the head of the state security disappeared somewhere in a corner. When I dealt with foreign politics, two years later, I found myself attending the most closed sessions, where I suddenly noticed totally different people before me. That was the first time that I had realized what the wall between the internal and external party circle was like. Ninety-five percent of the party secretaries had never reached the first circle.

[Nezmah] Being in the party did not mean being in the clan?

[Slivnik] Being in the party did not at all mean participation at the levels of power. The real decisions were made in UDBA [former Yugoslavia state security administration] and economic circles. Directors were a much more reliable part of the old nomenclature than any secretary of the League of Communists. [passage omitted]

[Nezmah] Does it ever happen that someone leaves the clan?

[Slivnik] Real members do not leave. It is more the coincidental fellow traveler that leaves. [passage omitted]

[Nezmah] What does Kucan offer with his clan?

[Slivnik] To the satellites which are of use for only one or two actions, very little. I sometimes ask myself whether it has ever even given anything to some of the journalists that so enthusiastically write for the clan. Otherwise the clan offers a lot. It gets you a job, promotion, a loan, a discount when buying a car, it enables you to attend a banquet at the Cankarjev Dom three times a year and your children to go into diplomacy. [passage omitted]

[Nezmah] Does a Christian Democrat clan not also exist?

[Slivnik] Of course, but it is incomparably weaker and not as important as Kucan's. There is also [Social Democratic Party Leader Janez] Jansa's clan.

[Nezmah] How does Kucan's clan differ from the other clans?

[Slivnik] It has great historical experience, it has more developed methods. There is no more historical memory, these things were of course not taught in school. Did you ever talk to a director, which was necessary in the old days? This was not only a decision of the workers' council. Half of the directors are still from the UDBA structure. This is not a coincidence, that is how it is all over eastern Europe. Why? The director made the decisions on the finances, he was the person who was accompanied most, and not the party secretary. In 1988 Matija Macek could still call any of the directors and say: "You do this! You do that!" This structure was then not written about in the newspapers, because one did not write about secret party funds, about how Smelt was not inspected by the SDK [public accounting service]! Where did those 150 million German marks go? Wherever the clan had commanded that it should go. [passage omitted]

[Nezmah] Kucan's clan therefore has close ties with Milosevic?

[Slivnik] Of course. Milosevic and Kucan had already agreed upon key matters in 1989; regarding the slow drifting apart of Yugoslavia, the renewed normalization of relations, the Serb policy toward Kosovo. The latter was, on the outside, very much in support of the Albanians, but before that Stane Dolanc, one of Kucan's main men, had regulated these matters in a totally different manner.

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[Nezmah] Could you give a better argument for that?

[Slivnik] Kucan had a better understanding with Milosevic than with the Croats. That is where the current aversion toward the Croats comes from. Why the negative attitude toward Franjo Tudjman? No one discusses that. Why does Slovenia comment much more on the totalitarian system in Croatia than in Serbia? Because of the clan's connections to Genex [important Serbian company under communism]. If you take a look at the leaderships of the former [Yugoslav] republics in 1990, you will see that Kucan never really got along with Tudjman, who came from the opposition. He got along much better with [President of Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] Kiro Gligorov and Milosevic. [passage omitted]

[Nezmah] You mention [Prime Minister Janez] Drnovsek's clan as an opposing one. But you place those closest to him in Kucan's clan: Jozef Skolc [State Assembly president], Anderlic, Mitja Gaspari [Minister of Finance], Igor Bavcar, Dimitrij Rupel [mayor of Ljubljana], Partljic, Zoran Thaler [Foreign minister], Omerza, Potocnik. Drnovsek's clan is more or less unnoticeable.

[Slivnik] There was originally no Drnovsek clan, only Drnovsek as a member of Kucan's clan. Only in 1993 did he begin to notice that he would have great difficulties if he remained a tool of the Kucan clan. That is when he began, in some areas, to establish his own clan. However, he found himself in trouble because his colleagues were under Kucan's supervision. He hired an advisor and one year later it turned out that he hired the wrong one. I will not forget a conversation that I had with Drnovsek in the DELO building after they had brought down yet another director of VIS. "Can you believe me when I say that I no longer know whom to trust? All those around me have been discredited." He told me this in the summer of 1993. And I understood the man. They had set everything up around him. The only two that he had brought with him were Kramer and Sirse, and the latter soon came under the influence of others. He literally told me that he cannot even rely on anyone as much as to consult with him for half an hour on what he should do.

[Nezmah] Drnovsek's clan is a c[illegible] with only one member?

[Slivnik] No, no. He of course also has his positions. At the moment the directors are very confused because they do not know how strong Kucan's clan will be in the future. Drnovsek's opportunity here is that he is the prime minister.

[Nezmah] The situation is paradoxical. The prime minister is in a position that enables him to confer a huge number of functions....

[Slivnik] You must be aware of the fact of how small the amount of interest was that Drnovsek started off with. He did not even know which party to join. The democrats and the socialists were inviting him into their ranks. He spent two years positioning himself politically. How can he have his own clan? Only in the last two years has he begun to establish his own clan. Especially when Kucan's clan wanted to replace him with Herman Rigelnik. That was a very serious possibility. You notice by the little things that he pulled himself together. He at once signed the social agreement, and closed all the main points of conflict in order to cover his back.

[Nezmah] There are therefore four clans in Slovenia: Kucan's, Jansa's, [Christian Democrat Leader Lojze] Peterle's, and Drnovsek's?

There is only one real clan that has a lot of power. Then there is Drnovsek's circle. Peterle's clan is only a poor little group of people that is dependent on Kucan's finances. Then we have Jansa's group of people, which has some cultural people but does not have strong economic positions.

[Nezmah] Does the country function only through clans?

[Slivnik] Yes, since it is postsocialist. Do they come to any important conclusions autonomously in the forum, in the parliament?

[Nezmah] Do you not personally contribute to the strength of the Kucan clan by emphasizing its mighty strength?

[Slivnik] I personally feel no hatred toward his clan. Perhaps in some ways we may be too severe to say this, that is, that the clan may receive a greater importance, however the issue here is one of a journalistic description of a phenomenon.

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Federal

FRY: Minister Comments on Negotiations With London Club

AU3006203596 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 30 Jun 96

[Statement by Federal Minister Vuk Ognjanovic, head of the FRY delegation to negotiations with the London Club, "for DNEVNIK"; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] First, we strongly stressed our relations leading up to the contract agreement signed with the commercial banks dating back to 1989. We stressed its importance as well as its relevance in terms of the guarantees accompanying it and the principles contained in it. In this respect, we stressed the mechanism that we had employed to protect our interests regarding procedures initiated by the London Club in connection with the Slovene and Croatian packages and concluded that we cannot and would not give up this mechanism because it is exclusively aimed at protecting our interests.

The second important issue in the field of economic and commercial relations with them [as heard] is the issue of freeing the assets of Yugoslav banks and physical persons in commercial banks worldwide, particularly in the United States. We learned that they had held long consultations with their members on this issue, and they promised, I quote, positive answers in the next round of negotiations.

The other two issues pertain to reprogramming our debt. We simply presented the program that we intend to defend and impose on them. It is a program which foresees a new dynamic in line with the current possibilities of the Yugoslav economy and industry; a program that is based on the principle of a decent grace period; and a period that will allow us to regain our strength. Finally, within this same context, we brought up the issue of fresh funds and our general relations with commercial banks, and, in connection with this, the need to strengthen our capacity in this area because it will allow us to honor our obligations in the right way.

FRY: Lilic Criticizes 'Senseless' UN Sanctions in Sports

LD2806185196 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1516 GMT 28 Jun 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, June 28 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav President Zoran Lilic said Friday [28 June] that the hoisting of the national flag in the Atlanta Olympic Village would reaffirm the nation's high ranking in sports and prove that the U.N. sanctions against Yugoslavia in sports were senseless.

Lilic was speaking in a meeting with President of the Yugoslav Olympic Committee Aleksandar Bakocevic and head of the Yugoslav mission to the Olympic Village Caslav Veljic.

Bakocevic informed Lilic that, three weeks before the opening of the 26th summer Olympic Games, there was no issue unsolved regarding the preparations of Yugoslav athletes for the games and their departure for Atlanta, the presidential press section said.

Bakocevic said the Yugoslav Olympic Committee had thus managed to alleviate as much as it could adverse effects of the U.N. sanctions on sports, especially team sports, in the country.

He said the athletes themselves should be congratulated on being in top training and on high motivation.

Lilic said Yugoslav athletes had performed well in qualifiers, and said he was confident that they would do their best at the Olympic Games as well. He wished them a lot of success and self-confidence because he said they belonged among the world's finest athletes.

FRY: Hague Tribunal To Open Belgrade Office in Early Jul

LD2906164696 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1525 GMT 29 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 29 Jun (SRNA)—An office of the Hague [war crimes] tribunal will start work in Belgrade in the first week of July, today's DNEVNI TELEGRAF has reported, quoting unnamed Yugoslav diplomatic circles.

The newspaper says that agreement on the opening of the office was reached yesterday in talks between the Bulgarian international law expert Deyan Mikhov, and senior Yugoslav representatives.

According to the same sources, Mikhov's office is already refurbished and is situated in Omladinskih Brigada Street in Novi Beograd [Belgrade].

FRY: SLS Leader Condemns FRY 'Ultimatum' to Serb Republic

LD2906183296 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1715 GMT 29 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 29 Jun (SRNA)—Kosta Cavoski, the chairman of the main committee of the Serbian Liberal Party [Srpska Liberalna Stranka, SLS] said today that Belgrade's fresh "ultimatum" to the Bosnian Serb Republic was a sign that "[Serbian

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President Slobodan] Milosevic wants to destroy it [the Serb Republic]."

"The statement issued by the three presidents [Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia, Momir Bulatovic of Montenegro, and Zoran Lilic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] clearly shows Milosevic's desire to send Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic's head to the sultan in Washington [refers to Serbian history in 19th century when one Serbian ruler sent another's head to the Turks to show his loyalty to Istanbul] and annihilate the Serb Republic," Cavoski told a conference of the Democratic Party of Serbia [Demokratska Partija Srbije], which began in Belgrade today.

According to Cavoski, this move comes as no surprise because, as he said, "Milosevic embarked on this road of shame a long time ago" and he will go to the very end if he is not stopped.

"It is a sign of poor taste, to say the least, to tighten the noose around someone's neck and, at the same time, to say that the hanging is in the interest of the Serb nation," Cavoski said. [passage omitted]

FRY: Markovic Urges Peace, Equality in Kosovo

AU0107094696 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jun 96 p 7

[Excerpts from an interview that Mira Markovic gave to Radio Television of Serbia; place and date not given: "Equality Is the Key to the Solution."]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dr. Mira Markovic, professor at Belgrade University and council chairman of the JUL [Yugoslav Left] gave an interview yesterday to Radio Television of Serbia, where she explained why, after being translated into 12 world languages, her book *Night and Day* was also translated into Albanian.

"This is because around 2 million Albanians live in our country, and my book concerns them as much as it does all the other citizens of Yugoslavia."

The promotion of this edition was an opportunity for Dr. Mira Markovic to answer some questions of current interest.

[RTS] What in the broadest sense does the Yugoslav Left mean?

[Markovic] The Yugoslav Left is a movement formed almost two years ago by 23 left-oriented parties. At the convention of the Yugoslav Left, held 23 July 1994, a large number of left-oriented individuals joined the party individually, far outnumbering the collective members.

Two Orientations

Our first orientation, our primary orientation, and one we started out with, is the orientation toward peace. When we first came out publicly, both politically and socially, we were seen as a pacifist movement. This was no empty or senseless pacifism but an evaluation that on the territory that the former Yugoslavia had occupied, peace was the common denominator and the common interest of all the former Yugoslav nations and the people who lived in that area.

We are very satisfied that since the time when we started out with our orientation toward peace, to the present day, we have gone through a period of stable political behavior, that this same orientation has now become widely accepted by the entire international community as well as by progressive political parties and individuals in the former Yugoslavia.

As for our other orientation, this is the orientation toward equality. This orientation consists of two principles. First of all, we believe in equality among nations, and then also, equality among people. We give priority to equality among nations because in our country approximately one-third of the population are not Serbs, and this applies to both Serbia and Yugoslavia, so it makes sense that the principle of national equality should be the primary principle of a political orientation that cares about peace and prosperity. Inequality among nations in a multinational community, as a rule, leads to tensions, and as we have seen in the Balkans, it can even lead to conflict and war. In that sense Bosnia is a lesson that cannot be avoided and that is why in our orientation toward equality we give priority to equality among nations. As for equality among people, I must remind you that this kind of equality is the deepest, most magnificent, and most unique. From as far back as the French Revolution, to this very day, the idea of equality among human beings has always been the most striking characteristic of the left, and this is what makes it stand out from all other political orientations, this is what identifies it.

Extremists Stand No Chance

[RTS] The Yugoslav Left believes that it is essential to identify social and national interests. As it was pointed out in the proposed platform for JUL, referring to national interests, it is necessary to do this as soon as possible because in the last period there has been some degree of veering off course, and there still is.

[Markovic] This veering off that you mention concerns certain delusions that the national interest lay in idolizing history, glorifying one's own nation, in demoting

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and expressing doubt toward other nations. This underestimating and minimizing of other nations usually ends up in hate toward that nation and the tendency to blame the members of that nation, most frequently neighboring nations, for all the misfortunes one's own nation is going through. From my own point of view and that of the Yugoslav Left, the national interest is to create conditions for a society to develop and to build democratic relations in the state and human relations among people, to harmonize society and nation with their environment, with the world in which they live, and to give one's own contribution to the development of that world.

As far as Kosovo is concerned, the national interest of both the Albanians and the Serbs who live in Kosovo is for all of them to be able to work and to be able to live from their work, live as human beings, for their children to attend modern schools, for their towns and cities to be clean and unpolluted, to be able to get their information from newspapers that are unbiased and respectful, for everyone who has the ability to study and get a good education, for young people to learn new languages and travel all over the world. That is how I see the national interest of both the Serbs and the Albanians in Kosovo, and that is also how I see their common social interest.

[RTS] You support the principle of open borders. Bearing in mind the prevailing circumstances, can this principle be applicable both among the Albanians and all the others who live in Kosovo-Metohija?

[Markovic] It is impossible for Europe to be integrated, to consist of all the nations that will live in a single community, without the same process being successfully implemented in the Balkans. I am thinking about the entire Balkan peninsula, and that process has to be carried out initially because the Balkan nations are more connected together than the other European nations. In the Balkans every nation has within it people of other, neighboring nations and there is no part of Europe where the nations are so closely linked as the Balkans. That is why I am convinced that this European integration will be preceded by an integration of Balkan nations into one community of nations. Perhaps that is the solution for all the tensions that exist in the Balkans.

There are several nations living in Kosovo and the only prerequisite for them to live together as normal human beings, is for them to be equal. Absolutely in every way. I do not like to compute which nation is in the majority, which is in the minority, who arrived in Kosovo first and who arrived second, which nation is more creative and which is more productive. So, regardless of all the differences among them now and in the past, I think that the only way they can live there together and in peace is if they are completely equal.

[RTS] Lately the Yugoslav Left has been presented in a distorted light by malicious individuals among both Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo-Metohija.

[Markovic] I think that it can be presented as a negative political phenomenon only by nationalists—be they Serb, Montenegrin, Macedonian, Croat, Albanian, etc. All those who are against a common and equal life for all people who live in one area certainly have to see our party and its policy as their enemy. To me this seems logical, and I have nothing against that. As a matter of fact, I do not expect our movement and its basic orientation to be accepted by nationalists, separatists and primitive people in general. This orientation is contrary not only to nationalism and separatism but is turned in the direction of equality and universality, and I must say, it is entirely opposed to primitivism since we are prepared in an economic, technological, and cultural sense for the age we are entering.

New Force

[RTS] Within only a decade circumstances in the Yugoslav region have become entirely new. Does the left necessarily have to be new in this new and more severe world?

[Markovic] The left is already new because it is organized differently. I will allow myself the liberty to say that I am deeply convinced that divisions in the left into political parties, such as were the socialists, communists, workers' parties, social democrats, etc. will remain a 20th-century phenomenon and that in the new century the left will be organized as a single movement of all that is left-oriented. Of course, in a sense, the left can be understood in a very different and flexible way, but for the interest of the ideas that the left strives to promote, it is necessary that all those who share these ideas, regardless of shades and nuances, be together, as one common front, in one bloc, in one place.

[RTS] Chairman Markovic, at the end, a personal question. For a long time you resisted becoming actively involved in politics, and then you became council chairman of the Yugoslav Left. Did you do this out of a need to help resolve the many problems that had accumulated in the region of the former Yugoslavia and the present Yugoslavia and to what extent does such an active political involvement keep you away from those things great and small that make life beautiful, serene and stable?

[Markovic] The only reason I became politically active is my own conviction or my hope that with this involvement I will contribute to the realization of these ideals, these convictions for which I strive. I could never

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be a professional politician. Professional political work is entirely incompatible with my personality.

[Box, p 7]

I do not see any reason for dialogue not to be established. The only obstacle is that the participants of that dialogue on both sides are people who do not trust each other and who do not mean well by their nation. Intellectuals could make the biggest contribution in that respect. That should be their task. Intellectuals have a habit of frequently withdrawing into themselves during difficult times, waiting for these difficult times to pass.

[Box, p 7]

Asked what she thought about certain circles and their theories about divisions of Kosovo-Metohija, especially considering that these ideas have once again been rekindled completely imperceptibly by individuals in the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences, Dr. Mira Markovic said:

I am greatly opposed to divisions. I think that in these times, particularly in this part of the world, divisions cannot bring anything good. The attempt to divide Bosnia, as you can see, has not finished yet, and it has led the participants of that attempt into a tragic and senseless war. I think that any division in Kosovo would lead to conflicts that would end I know not when and I am certain that those conflicts would result in a great number of casualties.

[Box, p 7]

There is no doubt that peace is the primary interest of all people and nations on the territory of the former Yugoslavia and had all those who bore that responsibility really taken that into account, there would have been no war in the former Yugoslavia, and perhaps it never would have fallen apart.

Serbia

Serbia: Deputy PM Markovic on Ethnic Albanian Issue

LD3006160296 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1555 GMT 30 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kragujevac, Yugoslavia, June 30 (TANJUG)—Serbian Vice-Premier Ratko Markovic said Sunday that any attempt by the world community to determine Yugoslavia's state system because various ethnic groups live there would mean limiting its constitutional authority.

Speaking for the local radio in Kragujevac, central Serbia, Markovic, professor at the Belgrade University School of Law, said this would be a dangerous precedent that would have bearing on the entire international community.

Commenting on the status of ethnic groups, Markovic said Albanians had not played a nation-building role in the history of Serbia like Serbs. Albanians have their own state, Albania, where they have played such a role, he said.

Serbs have only one state and that is the Republic of Serbia, he said. Serbia is a state where the Serb people have exercised their right to self-determination, but Serbia is also a civil state, he said.

Albanians are a minority because they have exercised their right to self-determination in their own state. Like all ethnic groups, ethnic Albanians should have a catalogue of minority rights that should be determined also by the international community because this issue is of a transnational character, he said.

A strong ethnic Albanian separatist movement has for decades been active in Serbia's southern province of Kosovo and Metohija. The movement aims to detach the province from Serbia and its parent state Yugoslavia and to attach it to neighbouring Albania.

Serbia: Writers Association Chief Rejects Kosovo Secession

AU0107101896 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jun 96 p 7

[Interview with Slobodan Rakitic, chairman of the Association of Serbian Writers, by Rade Stanic; place and date not given: "A Division Is Unacceptable"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Together with the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts the Association of Serbian Writers played one of the key roles regarding Kosovo issues in the 80s. On the one hand, this was interpreted as a return to national self-awareness and, on the other, as the stirring up of nationalism. "The Association of Serbian Writers worked on the Kosovo issue and pointed out the terror to which the Serbs were exposed at the time when the government did not want to face that circumstance," Mr. Rakitic, the association's chairman, told NASA BORBA. The question about the association's current attitude to the Kosovo issue remained unanswered since Mr. Rakitic made a restriction by stating that he was speaking in his own name: "The Association of Serbian Writers does not like engaging in politics. It only addresses political issues in times of crisis and when it assesses that the government, opposition, and other institutions of the system are either not doing so at all, or are doing so in an inappropriate way."

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[Stanic] In one of his speeches Aleksandar Despic [director of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts] raised two possibilities for a solution to the Kosovo issue. One is the possibility that Kosovo secede from Serbia, in other words a division between Albanians and Serbs. The other is that Kosovo remain within Serbia with Albanians as the majority population. What is your attitude to Despic's views? What do you think about the secession of Kosovo and the possibility of a division there?

A Global State Strategy Is Missing

[Rakitic] I consider Academy member Despic's statement neither irresponsible nor very responsible. It might be well-intentioned, but it is not well-founded. I consider it an act of individual thinking, which is important and partially responsible. The statement is an attempt to find a solution to avoid a war between the nations in question and a civil war in Serbia, but at the same time it shows a lack of methodology and political order in Serbia. The Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts should offer to the Serbian state institutions a platform for a political dialogue with Albanians. It is necessary to define an overall strategy toward Kosovo within national institutions; a minimum of attitudes and interests that will determine a responsible policy should be defined. If there is disagreement in the Serbian national entity over the Kosovo issue, we cannot expect that this will not be used by the Albanian nationalist movement and by international elements that want to internationalize this issue. Secession and a division of Kosovo are out of question.

[Stanic] Even if this means war?

[Rakitic] Why would this mean war? It will come to a war only if the international community wants it. Neither Albanians nor Serbs want a war, but if the international community behaves in the way it behaved when the former Yugoslavia was falling apart, war is possible. The latest terrorist incidents in Kosovo were directly caused by the opening of the U.S. Cultural Center, whose official name does not include the term Serbia or Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, but U.S.A.-Kosovo. In other words, if there is no international support, there will be no war. [passage omitted]

[Stanic] In which areas would a joint life between the Serbs and Albanians be possible?

[Rakitic] Serbs and Albanians share much more than only a few areas, and these should be determined first. They have Kosovo as their past, present, and future. The Albanians' orientation toward their home country could be interpreted as quite natural if it did not include the secession of Kosovo and unification with Albania. I would like to conclude this conversation with the question why minority rights in this part of the world are not solved using the same standards as everywhere else. Why is there one standard for the Serbs, and another for everybody else. I mean Ireland, Tirol, Hungarians in Slovakia and Romania, the problem of Serbs in Croatia.... Why can't an international conference be held in which all of these issues are discussed? The Kosovo issue should be solved within an overall policy in the Balkans and Europe, not only by the internationalization of the problems of the Kosovar minority in that old part of Serbia [Kosovo].

Let me repeat once again. Neither the government nor the opposition nor any political party nor political institution can make a decision on Kosovo at the moment—only the complete Serbian nation can.

[Box, p 7]

The Government Will Abandon the Whole of Kosovo

"The situation in Kosovo has become increasingly tense and bad during the last several months, and Serbian political institutions have consistently had no attitude or explanation. To make matters worse, Vukasin Jokanovic, the federal minister of internal affairs, said—in spite of the fact that one person was killed and another wounded several days ago—that 'the problem of Kosovo did not exist, there existed only problems in Kosovo that had to be solved.' The relation of the government toward Kosovo can be seen from the fact that Minister Jokanovic is busy with Academy member Despic, instead of tackling the Kosovo issue. It seems that the minister is bothered by the thought that this Serbian province could be divided, since the ruling structures have obviously decided to give up the whole of Kosovo, not only a part of it.

"International players, above all the United States, are trying to exacerbate the crisis since—despite the statement that Kosovo is an integral part of Serbia—the centers of international diplomacy, led by Albania, urge separatists to abandon passive resistance and start an open conflict. The Serbian parliament and government do not know, however, which political attitude to adopt and which steps to take next in the southern Serbian province. The policy of improvisation is leading to political self-destruction and creates the illusion that nothing is going on in Kosovo, but in fact it can be assumed that open political resistance of the separatist Albanian movement is being prepared on a large scale with all means," Slobodan Rakitic points out.

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Serbia: Survey Says TV Programming Favors Socialists

AU2706164496 Belgrade BETA in English 20-26 Jun 96

[Report by BETA: "All Television Stations Favor the Ruling Party"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text]

Slim Perspectives for Fair Play on the Eve of the Federal Elections

The results of a survey of the information programs of the Serbian State Television (SST), Television Studio B, Television Politika and Television BK Telekom, carried out during the first week of June, has shown that all the surveyed Television stations favor the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) and its allies, while giving little or no space to the opposition parties and their programs.

The survey, commissioned by the BETA news agency, was carried out from 3 to 9 June by Jovanka Matic, a collaborator of the Belgrade Institute of Social Sciences. It included the information program of the SST prime time news (1930) [1730 GMT], "Days of the Week", of Television Studio B (1900) [1700 GMT] "Telefact" and "To the Left—To the Right" of the BK Television, and the "Day" of Television Politika. The purpose of the survey was to establish the general features of the Television presentation of political subjects before the federal elections, scheduled for next November. The same kind of survey will be carried out immediately before and during the elections.

The results of the analysis show that the reality of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), as presented daily on the SST shows—the only ones reaching all viewers in Serbia—consists of one and the same image: of successful political and economic reintegration of the country in the international community.

It is the single most important subject of the prime time SST news and a core around which the whole show is built: it takes a quarter of the time of every news, both in the number of events reported (25.2 percent of the events total), in the length of the coverage (23.6 percent of the time total), and in the themes' structure (40 percent). Out of 20 reports on the activities of political parties, 17 were dedicated to SPS activities. The state television coverage of the activities of the ruling party lasted 18.53 minutes—more than the section dedicated to the most important events in the world.

During the week surveyed, the SST broadcast on the average three reports per day in which successful political cooperation with the world was presented, while the successes of the economic cooperation were covered in four reports per day. Enumeration of contracts made (or about to be made) by domestic companies (JAT, Progres, Trepca, Sartid, Tigar, as well as other companies of Prokuplje, Vladicin Han, Pozarevac) with foreign partners lasted 30.37 minutes. (Television Studio B devoted in its choice of the "Events of the Day" 6.11 minutes to this theme.)

During the week in question, on the SST prime time news a total of 21 companies were praised either for their successful cooperation with foreign companies or for their successes on the local level. Only one company was criticized, being only mentioned as a private enterprise which has failed to comply with the appeal of the mayor of Belgrade, Nebojsa Covic, not to incorporate the recently introduced city sales tax of 3 percent into the prices of goods, but into the existing margin. The unnamed company was the only villain in the 195 minutes long news production of the state owned television.

The negative approach towards main protagonists—allowed by the SST in only 5.4 percent of reports—was reserved only for foreign actors: in eight cases these were the international subjects, in four subjects from Bosnia and Herzegovina, while in three it was Croatian President, Franjo Tudjman and Croatian authorities.

The Method of Positive Publicity

In the period surveyed, not a single critical remark regarding the ruling structures was heard. To the contrary, government bodies were praised 27 times. The ruling party was mentioned 17 times in such a context. The state television dedicated more time (18.53 minutes) to its activities than to the activities of all actors of international events (17.30 minutes) and almost ten times more than to the activities of all other domestic political parties.

In the period analyzed, except for 17 reports on the SPS, only three other political parties were let through: the New Democracy Party [ND] (0.52 minutes), the Radical Party Nikola Pasic [RSNP](0.29 minutes) and the Yugoslav United Left [JUL] for the Republic of Srpska (0.35).

The analysis shows that the Studio B and the "Telefakt" of BK Telekom had a slightly more flexible selection approach. In its coverage of the political parties' activities (the "To the Left—To the Right" show) the political scene was presented more richly than on the SST. Altogether, 21 reports were broadcast (10.49 minutes) on the activities of 12 Serbian and three Montenegrin political parties. The BK model of selection does not favor any party in particular (two reports on the SPS, the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO], the Democratic

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Party [DS] and the Serbian Radical Party [SRS] each, and one report on the New Democracy Party, JUL, the Civic Alliance of Serbia [GSS], Democratic Party of Serbia [DSS], the Democratic Center [DC], the Alliance of Communists—Movement for Yugoslavia [SKPJ], the Democratic Action Party [SDA] and the Radical Party [RS] each.)

Owing to its more flexible pattern of selection, BK Telekom offered the largest number of reports critical of the authorities (eight altogether). It was also the only television station which rather extensively reported on workers strikes (in Kraljevo, in Jugoexport, Ateks, and Belgrade City Transportation companies of Belgrade, and in the Belgrade municipal courts) in Serbia—seven reports in all (4.51 minutes). The SST and the Television Politika failed to broadcast a single news item on these events, while Studio B used 1.01 minute to report on three occasions on the Kraljevo strike.

Out of four surveyed television stations the longest single report lasted 6.37 minutes. It was broadcast in the SST prime time news and consisted of excerpts from the interview of Serbian President, Slobodan Milosevic, with the German DER SPIEGEL magazine.

The longest reports of Studio B (the average length of a report is 0.49 minutes) were dedicated to the assurances of the Belgrade Mayor, Nebojsa Covic, that the 3 percent sales tax recently introduced in the capital will help the poorest Belgraders (3.09 minutes), and to the interview with the Croatian writer, Igor Mandic, about prospective reactions in Zagreb concerning his visit to Belgrade (2.11 minutes). The longest BK Telekom report (the average is 0.34 minutes) was a special statement by Antonio Cassese, President of the Hague Tribunal, given to this Television network (2.47 minutes), on conclusions of the EU representatives Lamberto Dini and Jacques Santer, after their visit to Yugoslavia. Television Politika deviated from its average 34 seconds coverage of each event with excerpts from the mentioned Milosevic's interview with DER SPIEGEL (3.17 minutes), as well as in two minute long reports on the Dini-Santer and the Belgrade Institute of Economic Sciences press conferences.

Television Pluralism: Choosing Between the Same

Between 3 and 9 June, in its chronicle on the activities of political parties Television Studio B broadcast 23 reports on 12 parties from Serbia and four from Montenegro which altogether lasted 14.41 minutes. Slightly larger attention was given to the Serbian Radical Party (three reports, 3.19 minutes) and the Socialist Party of Serbia (three reports, 2.12 minutes).

The majority of the parties was represented with only one report (the Serbian Renewal Movement, the Civic Alliance of Serbia, the Radical Party Nikola Pasic, the Social Democratic Union, the Democratic Action Party) lasting 35 seconds at the average, that is, with two reports (the New Democracy Party, the Democratic Center, the Alliance of Communists—Movement for Yugoslavia). Out of political leaders in the Studio B shows only Vuk Draskovic and Dragoljub Micunovic appeared. There wasn't a single report on the parties themselves, as is often the case with the SPS on the SST, but on the positions of the parties regarding a variety of social questions.

Critical overtones regarding official policies were heard twice on Studio B coming from the SRM and the DC leaders. The way in which the things were presented in the reports didn't even intimate that the parties are soon to take part in an election competition.

In the "To the Left—To the Right" show of BK Telekom, which is shown immediately after the news, a total of 21 reports on the activities of 12 Serbian and three Montenegrin political parties was broadcast, lasting 10.49 minutes. The shortest report was six seconds long, while the longest lasted 59 seconds. Not a single party leader was given a chance to speak directly to the audience (live).

In the BK model of selection no party was given preferential status (the SPS, the SPO, the DP, and the SRS had two reports each, while the ND, the JUL, the GSS, the DSS, the DC, the SKPJ, the SDA, and the RP each were covered once), but the evenhanded treatment of all failed both to tie the ruling party to the difficult conditions in the country, and to present the opposition as an alternative to the existing resolutions. In the shows of BK Telekom the largest amount of critiques of the government were heard (four altogether, regarding its economic policies, its attitude toward the breaking of the law, and its undemocratic nature). In one third of the reports the Serbian and the Montenegrin parties mentioned the forthcoming federal elections, announcing prospective coalitions and insisting on democratic conditions under which they should be carried out.

The four surveyed Television stations in Serbia have also a different approach in geographically locating the events at home: compared to the others, the SST has the least information on Montenegro, and the most from Kosovo, Studio B gives preference to the Belgrade events, while the events in Sandzak have an evenhandedly silent treatment by all television stations.

Domestic political subjects are treated according to the more or less same interpretative pattern, as the news

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items reported primarily on activities and positions of the government bodies.

Out of all social subjects mentioned in the SST reports, the state organs (of the FRY, Serbia and Montenegro) comprised one fourth (25.4 percent) , while out of the domestic subjects mentioned they represented nearly one half (48 percent).

From the point of view of frequency, the second place on the list of mentioned are companies (7.5 percent of all subjects mentioned, 14 percent of the domestic subjects mentioned), while political parties are on the third place (7.1 percent, that is, 13.3 percent). In the week from 3 to 9 June, out of the total of 202 reports, the Yugoslav Army was mentioned three times, while 12 reports were dedicated to the scientific and cultural subjects. During the week surveyed, not a single SST report covered workers or trade unions, and only one was devoted to nongovernment organizations, that is, to the Association of the Journalists of Serbia.

The information model of the state TV was closely followed by TV Politika, though its interpretative pattern is much more balanced. In its "Day" news show, the government organs comprised 45.4 percent of all domestic subjects mentioned, that is, 14.7 percent of all subjects mentioned. Economic enterprises were on the second place (6.5 percent, that is, 20 percent), while religious (seven reports) and military subjects (five reports) followed.

In its prime time news, TV Politika failed to carry a single report on the activities of political parties. The trade unions were mentioned once (when its representatives met with Belgrade Mayor, Nebojsa Covic), while the non government organizations (the Association of Journalists and the Writers Association) were mentioned twice. The government structures were criticized four times, while 16 times they were praised.

The shows of Studio B and BK Telekom "Telefact" show have nurtured a slightly more flexible hierarchy of domestic social subjects, not endangering the media priority of the officially defined social situations: the government bodies comprised one third of all domestic actors presented.

Studio B carried 10 reports on religious subjects, while there were also reports on non government organizations (the Soros Fund, the Kosovo Council for Human Rights, the Serbian Assembly, the Alliance of Jewish Municipalities, the Association of Journalists, the UNHCR, the Association of Private Entrepreneurs). A variety of experts in different fields also appeared in the shows. In BK Telekom, except for religious subjects (eight reports), and military and police subjects (six reports), national minorities (six reports) and workers (five reports) also appeared.

Trade union activities were reported on Studio B four times: the protests of the trade unions of administration and judiciary workers were announced, while the reports on the activities of the Independent trade unions of Montenegro were also carried.

Only on BK Telekom the role of the social actors (in 59 percent of all reports) was neutrally represented, while the number of negative representation (21.1 percent) was slightly over the number of positive representation (17.3 percent).

The critique aimed at the state organs made way to the screens eight times. Besides coming from the part of the political parties, they were heard from the Hague Tribunal President, Antonio Cassese, the trade union of the Belgrade City Transportation drivers, the Coordinating Team of the Serbian Government for Domestic Trade and the Yugoslav Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

In the beginning of June, the International War Crimes Tribunal in the Hague was quite often mentioned in the prime time news of all four TV stations surveyed, while the visit of its President, Antonio Cassese, to Belgrade on June 5 made headlines on all TV stations except the SST.

The Tribunal was criticized eight times out of the 44 times it was mentioned in the first week of June—once on the SST, twice on BK Telekom and TV Politika, and three times on Studio B. In other reports the approach was neutral.

The impression that the public will obtain about the political scene, as a result of the TV coverage, could prove an extremely important basis for the decisions they will make as voters. During the first multiparty elections in 1992, only two TV stations existed—the SST and Studio B. The next year, when the second elections were held, TV Politika was established. In 1996, when the federal elections are scheduled to be held, there is also BK Telekom, while Studio B was taken over by the state.

The TV representation of reality on the channels with the highest ratings almost completely corresponds to the priorities of the ruling party. Therefore, it can already be concluded that such an approach makes the election race an unequal opportunity for its participants. The lack of balance cannot be compensated by any special rules on the media behavior during the preelection campaign. For its correction professional rules for daily behavior of journalists, both before and after the elections, are needed.

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Kosovo

Kosovo: UN's Rehn Concerned About Albanian Children's Health

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[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, June 25 (ATA)—The UN charge d'affaires on human rights in former Yugoslavia, Elisabeth Rehn, expressed Monday [24 June] evening her deep concern about medical situation of children in Kosova.

After talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, Rehn said she will do everything possible to improve the actual situation.

Serbian officials treat the problem as "Albanians' lack of readiness to participate in the governing, in which their rights would be taken into consideration."

According to the Albanian doctors in Kosova only 30 percent of Albanian children are vaccinated against 80 percent five years ago. Consequently 31 cases of paralytic children have been registered last years.

"Only 44 percent of the population have clean drinkable water," says the doctor of infectious diseases Ilir Tolaj. Many small towns have completely infected water according to his information.

The autonomous status of the Kosova region whose 90 percent population is Albanian was abolished by the Serbian leaders of Belgrade in 1989. Since then the Serbian leaders of Belgrade rule Kosova by using police methods.

Kosovo: Democratic League Reports Serbian Harassment

AU2906154796

[FBIS Report] Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English Nos. 907 and 908 on 25 and 26 June publishes several reports of mounting Serbian police repression against Albanians in Mitrovica.

"New reports on the Serbian police repression against the Albanians in the area have been reaching the office on a daily basis in the wake of the yet unclarified incident of 17 June, when a Serb policeman was shot dead by unidentified person(s)," the Democratic League of Kosova (LDK) Information Commission in Mitrovica confirms.

Report No. 907 also notes that at around midnight on 23 June, a Serbian police expedition "backed up" by several armored vehicles, "broke into" a bar at Tavnik quarter in Mitrovica. The bar owner and two Albanian clients "were taken at the police station" where they "were ill-treated and offended on national grounds." Sources confirm that they were told "someone will pay back, alluding on the killing of the Serb policeman, under yet unknown circumstances."

It is also reported that an Albanian from Vaganice village "was severely beaten up with no reason whatsoever by the Serbian police stationed at the Shipol quarter in Mitrovica."

KOSOVA DAILY REPORT No. 908 on 26 June states: "Since 17 June, when a Serb policeman was killed and another one wounded by yet unidentified perpetrator(s) in Mitrovica, the Serbian police has been harassing Albanians in the area on a daily basis. The LDK Information Commission in Mitrovica says that new cases of Serbian police repression in connection with the incident have been registered every day."

The report further details cases of Serbian police harassment of Albanians in Mitrovica. A Serbian police patrol on 22 June "beat up" an Albanian from Mitrovica while he was walking in the street. On 25 June, the Serbian police "raided" the household of another Albanian in Mitrovica. The report notes that the Albanian and his family members were "ill-treated in connection with alleged arms possession." The Serbian police on 24 June "ill-treated" four Albanian youngsters in a street in Mitrovica.

On 25 June, the Serbian police "ill-treated" three secondary school students at the bus station in Mitrovica. They were harassed for "half an hour" and "ordered by the police to do gymnastics near the bus station for another half an hour!"

Report No. 908 also notes that the Serbian police "beat up brutally" a 46-year-old mentally-retarded Albanian from Mitrovica. LDK Information Commission in Mitrovica says that a Serbian police patrol "halted" the Albanian in one of the streets in Mitrovica, "provoked" him, and later "beat him brutally." The Albanian "was subsequently sent to the Serbian police station in Mitrovica" and "is reported still in custody." A lawyer from Mitrovica has been trying to "contact" the Albanian but "was prevented by the Serbian police authorities."

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